THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT, SHAW

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HON. WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RAILROADS AND SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Mr. McAdoo is a great executive by nature and by training. He has courage, imagination, and power of swift decision. He deals with main things and leaves details to others. Transportation and public finance are his two fields of thought and effort. He has had a great part in creating the Federal Reserve Banking System and the national shipping program. He means to make American railroads and ships win the war)

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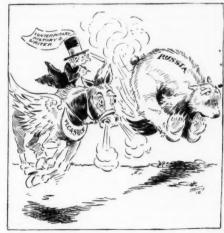
No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Great events have followed Records of one another with such bewil-History swiftness dering that no man's unaided memory can be trusted to keep them in logical order, much less to assign their dates. It is very useful to turn back the pages and read the current records week by week or month by month of our own American history as in the process of making, during the year 1917. We may modestly suggest to our readers that the bound volumes of a periodical like this REVIEW will have increasing value, and that the condensed Record of Current Events appearing each month becomes a necessity, rather than a merely convenient help, for those who would keep a firm grasp upon the movement of affairs.

It is hard to believe-so much has happened meantime - that Issues One Year Ago only a year has passed since we broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, and less than a year since Congress was discussing the question of arming merchant ships. Germany had found the war on land deadlocked, while Great Britain was growing in power both by land and by sea. The ruling autocracy of Germany had decided to resume the illegal use of submarines on a large scale. It was the opinion of German diplomatists and statesmen that the Democratic victory in the Presidential and Congressional elections of November, 1916, meant that the United States could not be induced even to make minimum preparations for self-defense, much less to become a belligerent and enter the European war. Hence the new era of terror in the so-called "blockade zone" extending well into the high seas along British and French coasts. Within the wide stretches of sea thus arbitrarily defined (as announced one day sooner) the German submarines after the 1st of February, 1917, were to strike without notice or warning any merchant ships whatsoever, belligerent or neutral, with certain exceptions not worth noting here. As a result of this German decision, President Wilson called the new Congress in extra session early in April, and was supported in expressing the view that a state of war had been created by Germany's action.

Submarines and Censorship With the opening, then of the present month of February, a struggling world has passed through one full year of the experience of this submarine policy which brought the United States into the war. Through most of this year, there has been such evasion or deception practiced by the authorities both in Berlin and in London that the people of all countries have been at a loss from time to time to know to what extent the German methods at sea had been a failure, and to what extent they had injured their enemies



THE WRITER OF CURRENT HISTORY HAS A HARD
JOB KEEPING UP WITH THE NEWS
From the News-Press (St. Joseph, Mo.)

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and helped the Central Powers. The ruling groups in the belligerent countries have adhered firmly to the theory that the war was their own affair, and that the long suffering peoples could not be permitted to know what was going on. The pretext of keeping military information from the enemy has been employed in all belligerent countries to muzzle the press, to prevent free speech, and to keep hidden the ineptitude of political and military leadership. There are many cheering signs that the year 1918 will see the veil torn away in more countries than one and that the discrediting of the censorship and of the ruling classes will hasten that understanding among the peoples themselves which can afford the only real basis for the establishment of peace.

Balkan Issues It is very desirable that Americans should remember the circumstances under which we entered the war. American sentiment strongly disapproved of the attack upon Serbia, although well-informed Americans understood the complexity of the Balkan situation, and the relationship of the Serbian, Bosnian, and Macedonian questions to the deadly rivalry between Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism for future predominance in southeastern Europe and western Asia. was no part of American policy to interfere in those matters. The gallant Captain John Smith was fighting in southeastern Europe before he came over to Virginia to found our original colony. Ever since Captain John Smith's time the struggle among nationalities in the Danubian, Eastern-Mediterranean and Black-Sea regions has been going on with occasional interruptions. One cannot obtain even a limited knowledge of present conditions in those parts of Europe and Asia without going back as far as the Roman Empire in his study of history. The founders of the American commonwealth were united and clear in their declaration that those Old-World affairs were to be no part of our business.

The assault upon the neutrality of Belgium gave a still greater shock to the American sense of honor and justice in the affairs of nations than did the attack upon Serbia. America had taken a creditable part in helping to define the general understandings among nations regarding the rights and duties of neutrals; but Belgian neutrality had been

specifically guaranteed by great European powers, which had also immediate and vital interests of their own at stake in maintaining Belgium's position. Russia's championship of Serbia, when Germany commanded Austria to precipitate a war, had brought France into the conflict through her close alliance with the Russian Empire. many's move to strike a crushing blow at France was principally strategic, and the march across Belgium was justified at Berlin on the ground of military necessity. We begin to understand, however, that Germany had also a political purpose. She would not —in case of the expected victory over France before Christmas, 1914—have withdrawn from Belgium in any strict sense. She would have retained commercial, military, and naval interests in Belgium, especially at Antwerp and on the coast, that would have menaced England and kept France in a position of inferiority. If we could have understood in 1914 all that we know or believe to-day of Germany policy and German methods, we should probably have tried at once to organize the neutral world for a policy of non-intercourse with Germany, and perhaps would have entered the war to the extent of using our Navy. When, however, the Battle of the Marne checked Germany, while Russia seemed to be overwhelming Austria-Hungary, it was the general American view that with British aid the Franco-Russian forces would soon defeat the Teutonic powers.

When, however, with varying Germany's fortunes, the war had gone on and America for two and a half years, the struggle had taken on world-wide aspects that were hardly perceived at the beginning. Not only was Germany's submarine policy an outrageous defiance of the rights of all maritime peoples, but it was evidently a mere part of a greater policy-that of acquiring a dominant position on the seas and in distant lands. There had come to light various things which helped Americans to see that this German policy was essentially unfriendly to the United States. German intrigues in Mexico, in Japan, and in South America, as unravelled by agents of our State Department, seemed to justify the opinion that Germany, if successful in her European struggle, would do her best to form combinations adverse to the United This did not mean that the German people had express designs of this kind,

but that the military autocracy, inspired by the doctrines of Pan-Germanism, had entered upon a great world game of ambition and intrigue, and that the United States would sooner or later have had to oppose this German game by the exhibition of military and naval power.

There are times when it is the Peace-Keepers first duty of those who are peaceably inclined to make themselves strong to oppose aggressors. people of the United States, whether at peace or in war, are not aggressive, and have no improper objects to gain for themselves by opposing military power to the weakness, or to the strength, of others. But for some years past it has been evident that military and naval preparations were being made in certain countries which menaced the general peace and which involved our own security. The opinion has been consistently expressed in the pages of this RE-VIEW through a period of more than twenty years that the maintenance of a very large and effective navy by the United States would greatly help to bring the world through a period of dangerous transition. The United States has, in The Hague Conferences and in constant efforts of our Government to persuade other nations to make arbitration agreements, been the earnest and consistent champion of disarmament and of peaceful world relations. But Europe has not believed, in years past, that this country would take up the sword of justice and make a fight if need be for a safe and sane world. Our arguments with Spain regarding the shocking conditions of Cuba would have liberated that island without our going to war, if our navy had been fifty per cent. stronger. Power should serve the right causes.

It is useless here to go back to Sea Power. the long years of "preparedness" controversy. No periodicals in the world have stood more strongly for the ideals of peace than this American RE-VIEW and the English periodical of the same name edited by the late W. T. Stead. But, also, no periodicals during a period of a quarter of a century have more firmly advocated for their respective countries the development of naval strength as a help to world peace, and as a means to future disarmament both by land and by sea, than have these two REVIEWS. The British Government and people have studied more thor-

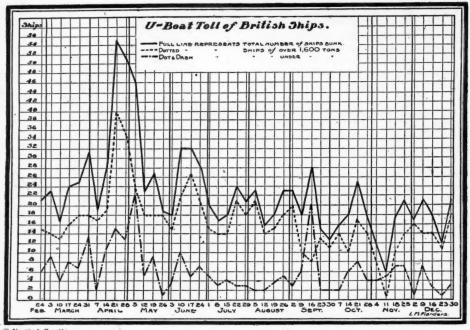


"And I had done a hellish thing
. . . With my cross-bow
I shot the Albatross."

-Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner."
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

oughly than have the American the significance of sea power. This, of course, is natural enough, because of the insular character of the United Kingdom and the worldwide distribution of those fortunate affiliated countries called the "British Empire," American security did not seem to be so immediately dependent upon the maintenance of naval power. Yet this country, even more than any other, not excepting Great Britain, was under obligation to itself and to the principles for which it stood in the world to assume on the seas that power to command respect and to check aggression that must in the future be turned over to an international society.

The United States faces both oceans, and has for nearly a century stood for the protection of South America as well as North America in the development of independent republics. This country has had more reason, we repeat, than even Great Britain, for taking and holding a position of naval predominance. Many were the mistakes



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FLUCTUATIONS IN THE GERMAN SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN AGAINST MERCHANT SHIPS

(The chart relates only to British ships sunk, as reported by the British Admiralty, and covers the period from the renewal of ruthless U-boat warfare to the end of the year 1917)

we made in the period immediately following our Civil War. From the standpoint of our larger interests perhaps the greatest of these mistakes was to permit the rapid decline of our maritime interests. We had invented the "monitor," the "ironclad," the submarine, the typical river gun-boat, improved naval artillery and many other adjuncts of sea power, and our navy through the quiet pressure of the blockade had cut off European supplies and had thus saved the Union. Just before the Civil War, our navy had been relatively weak while our merchant marine was very important. At the end of the war, Europe had acquired most of the merchant shipping while we possessed the strongest navy. We should have kept and increased our naval strength and rank, and adopted a policy that would have rebuilt our merchant marine. If we had pursued this course, and had assumed a more generous and active championship of democratic principles and of the doctrines of world peace, we might have helped to check some of the more recent European ventures for empire, and to keep under restraint some of the tendencies that were leading Europe to the present struggle.

These things are not merely mat-The Navy Our First ters for reflection and study, or War Concern for speculative comment; they have a bearing upon our present and future practical policies. We need a re-study of the whole subject of sea power from the standpoint of America's intention to help "make the world safe for democracy." are spending money enough, in less vital forms of war preparation, to pay several times over for a naval expansion and development that no other power could hope to match. By means of such a policy, we could not only give ourselves as a nation the most perfect security, but could also give security to all countries in the Western Hemisphere, and render futile the ruthlessness and aggression of schemes like those upon which Germany has embarked. We are indeed spending much upon our navy, but not enough, nor with enough speed. We are spending upon our army too much relatively, and perhaps actually, and with too little respect for a proper defense plan. Our naval experts, trained in the school of the late Admiral Mahan, have sound conceptions of the true American policy; their conceptions should guide our practical efforts.

Even in the absence of frank Extent of and trustworthy statements by Ravages the Governments most concerned, we can judge something of the nature and extent of the effects of the submarine policy of Germany during its memorable year beginning February 1, 1917. While we believe that the German confidence in the ultimate results of the submarine policy has been wholly mistaken, we have learned on the other hand that the practice of the British authorities in constantly minimizing the submarine danger, and in overstating the successes of the British Navy in sinking submarines, has been harmful in many ways. The general estimate of the Germans is that during the twelve months ending February 1, their underwater campaign will have resulted in the sinking of a total of nearly 10,000,000 tons of shipping, a monthly average of about 820,000 tons. The money loss to Germany's enemies is estimated at Berlin as totaling five billions of dollars, half for ships and half for cargoes, ships being valued at \$250 a ton. Our British friends persist in publishing tables purporting to show the rate at which the submarines are being sunk by naval efforts, but these are largely conjectural. Undoubtedly, the combined allied navies are more efficient than formerly, most of the new successes having been due to the use of a depth bomb, which Mr. Harrington Emerson describes in this number of the REVIEW (see page 167). But Germany keeps building more and better submarines.

It is to be remembered that Comparative German naval and maritime efforts are now centred upon the submarine. The crews of German battleships and many sailors of the merchant marine are available for manning the submarines. The much published British reports to the effect that the German crews were hard to obtain and that the navy was mutinous seem to have been fiction with a few grains of truth. As against the destruction of 10,000,000 tons of shipping within the single year, the Germans declare that all of the new tonnage launched in that period by Great Britain, the United States and all other allied countries, together with all the neutrals, is very much less than one-half that amount, being somewhere between one-fourth and two-fifths. The American tonnage to be launched in 1918 will be large, though much less than the



C Western Newspaper Union

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ROSSLYN WEMYSS, NEWLY AP-POINTED AS FIRST SEA LORD OF THE BRITISH NAVY, TO SUCCEED ADMIRAL SIR JOHN R. JELLICOE

(It is generally understood that the new Sea Lord favors a more aggressive use of naval power than has heretofore been made. The British and American Navies are in full coperation, and are likely to accomplish far greater results in 1918 than in the year past)

originally adopted program Shipping Board. The British reports have given us week by week since the beginning of last March the number of ships of British ownership that are sunk, but never give the tonnage. No figures of any kind were given for last February. During ten and a half months of the year under survey, the British government reports a loss of 1025 British ships sunk, of which 268 were small vessels under 1600 tons, while 757 were of larger size. This makes no reckoning of the numerous Italian, French, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, American and Spanish ships sunk, the world merchant marine also having lost ships under the flags of Russia, Greece and several South American countries. So great have been the losses of neutral ships, especially Norwegian and Dutch, and of French and Italian ships that probably the total number of vessels sunk by submarines and mines during the past

year would exceed 2000. To reach the German claim of 10,000,000 tons, 2000 ships would have to average 5000 tons apiece. This may be too high.

As against the inferences to be Resulting drawn from the German figures, we have a statement sent by Mr. Grasty last month to the New York Times which ignores the past year and goes back to the beginning of the war. This statement is to the effect that Britain's sea-going ships of over 1600 tons in August, 1914, had an aggregate tonnage of 16,841,519. Enggland claims to have remaining on January 1, 1918, a tonnage of 14,091,519. This shows a shrinkage for the war period of 2,750,000. The losses, of course, have been vastly larger than this last figure, but these losses have been offset by new construction, by purchases and by captures of enemy ships. The purchases do not increase available ocean tonnage, but merely substitute the British for neutral flags. Nor do these figures make any account of the great shrinkage in French, Italian, and neutral tonnage. The weekly average of British ships sunk during the past year has been about 23. If 1200 British ships sunk since February 1, 1917, have averaged 5000 tons, the loss for the year has been 6,000,000 tons. There has been a good deal of success lately in towing to shore and repairing ships that have been injured but not sunk. If there is any moral to be derived from the figures, whether we take those of Germany or those of England, that moral is directed to the heads of the British and American Navies, rather than to the Shipping Boards. submarine should be dealt with by increasingly active and aggressive naval fighting, not less than by the feverish building of ships to take the place of those sunk,

That the United States should ! Assassins at have as large a tonnage of new Sea Must Be merchant ships as possible is obvious enough and the country has accepted the policy without criticism from any quar-That the situation calls for supreme naval effort, however, is the point that has not been sufficiently emphasized. When terrible explosions like the recent one at Halifax, or great fires like that of some years ago at San Francisco, destroy the habitations of thousands of people, it is necessary to provide new buildings; but if criminal explosions and incendiary fires are persistent,

the important thing is to stop the work of the criminals. The British Navy has been untiring and zealous, and the American Navy has been gallant and efficient, but the German policy at sea, which is not naval in a proper sense, but rather a policy of piracy and assassination, has not yet been adequately opposed by naval plans and policies on the part of England and America. It is highly important in great national emergencies, as in private affairs, to see things as they are, act upon true conceptions, and shift plans to accord with the facts.

In the early part of the present Hard Facts and False Con- world war, England had expected to contribute her naval strength as a supplement to the land struggle of Russia and France. The war would perhaps have been ended before this if England had not been so slow to see that for her, by a curious irony of fate, this was not destined after the beginning to be a naval, but rather a land struggle. The actual war called upon her to fight in the trenches of Flanders and France. Even now the ordinary Englishman thinks of the war as in foreign lands, although the fighting around Ypres has been nearer to London by many miles than to Paris, while the Cambrai sector, for example, has been nearer to Liverpool and Scotland than it has been to Marseilles and the south of France. The war



GET ON THE JOB!
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany)



@ Harris & Ewing, Washington

ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. BENSON AND ADMIRAL HENRY T. MAYO DISCUSSING NAVAL PROBLEMS

(Admiral Benson is chief of our naval operations, and accompanied Colonel House as one of the American group in the Inter-Allied Conference. Admiral Mayo is head of the Atlantic Fleet, and has been closely associated with the work of Rear-Admiral Sims, who is fighting the submarines with a fleet of destroyers. These proficient naval officers are convoying ships with great success, and helping to carry out plans which are resulting in the destruction of many submarines)

in the trenches has been at England's very door, and just as much the affair of the British as of the French or the Germans. All three of these countries have been fighting as near their base as convenience could require. America, on the contrary, is thousands of miles away from this land fighting in Europe and cannot possibly participate in it on a large scale. Every effort, therefore, to carry out a miscalculated policy of putting large masses of American infantry into France must be at the expense of efficiency. Generous impulses in these matters do not lessen the disasters that result from hastily formed judgments.

Considered in large strategic If Minus a War Depart- aspects, as related to the present world war, every effort of our Navy has been applicable to the needs of the situation. On the other hand, the activities of our War Department have been badly balanced, especially as respects priority. Let us suppose, for example, that we had been unfortunate enough-or fortunate enough-not to have had a War Department when we became a belligerent last April. We should have given far greater and more rapid development to our Navy in all branches. We should have extended the Marines into a fighting force of several

hundred thousand men, fit to be used wherever sent. We should have developed seaplanes and aviation as an adjunct of the Navy, and should have prepared ourselves specifically and rapidly to descend upon the German submarine and aviation bases on the Belgian coast. We should have perfected the small regular army, quadrupled the National Guard, bought arms, and trained millions of men at home, not withdrawing them from farms, shipyards, railroads, mines or steel mills, but giving them part-time military instruction where they lived and worked.

Some of the naval writers like The President's Admiral Fiske, Admiral Peary, and other of our expert authorities have had a clear conception of the part America should play in the present war. They have seen what the unrestricted development of American sea power must mean. We should have had no trouble, probably, in securing enthusiastic volunteers for the navy as rapidly as we could have launched the ships; but, in any case, we could have drafted men for sea service as needed, and given them a good reason. To have devoted ourselves to an immense naval expansion and to a sound program of merchant shipbuilding would have shown Germany her

fatal mistake, and might have brought the war to an earlier end. No civilized nation in all history ever adopted a policy so destructive of the very foundations of international life as the present submarine policy of Germany. It cannot be condoned or forgotten. It can only be met, so far as we in America are concerned, in the element where it operates. President Wilson in his preparedness speeches had said that the United States ought to build "incomparably the strongest navy in the world." Secretary Daniels in his recent report quotes this language of the President, and stands upon it as his platform. Congress seems, also, willing to support the policy to any extent.

This is not only a sound doc-How the Policy Should trine, but a necessary one in view of the emergency. Germany's ambitions have been world-wide, and her progress in naval affairs and in merchant shipping had been enormous in the twenty years prior to 1914. The British Navy was large enough to drive German shipping to cover. Germany then forced the land fighting in such a way as to require England's attention and effort along the battle line in Belgium and France. Then came the German policies of assassination by submarine and air raid. It was against these specific policies that America entered the war. The opportunity had come, as well as the duty, for America to destroy forever all hope of



ANOTHER FEATHER FOR THE NAVY'S CAP From the Evening News (Newark, N. J.)

German navigation outside the Baltic Sea, unless Germany should wholly reform her policies and practices. With this policy clearly perceived and entered upon, America could immediately announce that no German ship should ever enter an American port until Germany had abandoned her methods and her aims of conquest, had made due reparation, had consented to just terms of peace, and had accepted a common plan of disarmament. While there is more than incidental value in training young Americans to defend their country, everyone knows who has considered the matter, that with due development of our naval power, Germany could no more invade the United States than she could invade the planet Mars. We might well have adopted universal military training upon a simple and economical plan, which would not have interfered with our other wise helping to defeat Germany.

In the order of priority, the Priority in the order of priority, the Washington Washington program should still have as its motto, the Navy first, and incomparably beyond all else. The Navy for us is perhaps twenty times as important as the Army. Yet because making navies is more technical and more difficult, we have vielded to the tendency to do the easiest thing, and by much clamor have halffooled ourselves into the belief that by trying to make big standing armies very quickly we were frightening the Germans. Nothing will frighten the Germans so much as our mobilizing sanity and intelligence, and restoring a program that looks to realities. Germany is fighting this war for certain definite objects. These include, first, territorial and political gains in Europe, so that German influence may dominate from Belgium to the further confines of Turkey. The German objects also look to a great imperial career throughout the world. these objects look to the exaction of an immense money indemnity from England and especially from the United States. many's plan has been to sink so much British shipping as to create famine conditions, and to worry the British population with air raids. In case of victory, the Fatherland party in Germany has actually expected to acquire the British Navy, and has thought to catch America unprepared, and thus to exact tribute from us, to be paid in instalments over a long term of years. None of these things can happen if (1) America develops her sea power: (2) builds merchant

ships; (3) keeps railroads, industries and mines at full speed, and (4) maintains her agriculture at its highest efficiency in order to send food to England and France. The only possibility of German success lies in those parts of the program of our War Department which compete in a paralyzing way with the useful and effective things that the country would otherwise be able to do. The Army is dependent upon ships.

The Supreme Court has upheld The President and the Select- the draft law in the decision rendered on January 7, Chief Justice White giving the opinion and all of his associates concurring. The principle of the citizen's responsibility is embodied in the Constitution. The war required the united efforts of the country; and obligatory personal service, in any capacity, upon a statutory basis, is evidently as fitting as the imposition of taxes. The theory of universal military service is democratic and just. The application of that principle to conditions at a given time, however, requires statesmanship. The purpose of the President and of Congress was made clear when the President, on May 18th, issued a formal proclamation, that being the day upon which the President signed the draft bill. Having quoted the sections of the statute requiring men between 21 and 31 to register, the President explained the spirit and the object of the law. "The men who remain to till the soil and man the factories," he said, "are no less a part of the army that is France than the men beneath the battle flags. It must be so with us." And he continued as follows:

It is not an army that we must shape and train for the country; it is a nation. . . . A nation needs all men; but it needs each man not in the field that will most pleasure him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good. That is, though a sharpshooter pleases to operate a triphammer for the forging of great guns, and an expert machinist desires to march with the flag, the nation is being served only when the sharpshooter marches, and the machinist remains at his levers.

The whole nation must be a team, only each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. To this end Congress has provided that the nation shall be organized for war by selection; that each man shall be classified for service in the place to which it shall best serve the general good to call him. . . It is no more a choosing of those who shall march with the colors than it is a selection of those who shall serve an equally necessary and devoted purpose in the industries that lie behind the battle line.



THE KEYSTONE OF THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH

What the Draft Law

Without Money we can't have food.
Without Food we can't have men.
Without Ships we can't use any of the Food, Men, Arms,
Munitions and Supplies.
And without Speed, there won't be any Triumphal Arch.
From the Daily Tribune (Chicago)

These were not merely the sen-

timents of the President in ad-

Meant vance of the work of the two Houses in formulating the law. He had indeed previously explained that the selective draft meant the specific selection for other national pursuits as well as for the Army; but we are quoting only the language of his formal proclamation of the law as enacted. His purpose was statesmanlike and was wholly reassuring. It came at the moment when through the Agricultural Department, the Government was telling the farmers that the way to win the war was to raise food for the Allies, and enormously to increase the crops of the years 1917 and 1918. The necessary inference was that all young farmers and farm hands of the draft age were to be designated for farm work and given their Government badges and credentials to that effect, for we were already very short of farm labor. The Allies at that time were buying munitions here, and making immense demands upon our steel mills and other metal-working establishments, and naturally also upon the copper and iron mines and many associated industries. All this

war work in the essential industries was re-

quiring more men than ever before; and to

keep the factories at work much more coal

was needed than in any previous year. These

things were well known, and the President

recognized them. It was justly inferred and

so understood, that mineworkers, steelworkers, and all men in similar trades and industries—being of draft age and duly registered-would be designated as in national service and definitely assigned to their imperatively necessary industrial work. further, it was evident to all intelligent men that every other war effort would be paralvzed if the railroads were not kept in full operation. The war imposed new burdens upon the roads, and greatly increased the volume of necessary traffic. In normal times the railroads themselves burn about onethird of all the coal the country produces, in the fire-boxes of their locomotives. It was plain that they were going to need more coal than before, or else they could not haul the other two-thirds of the coal produced, in order to supply essential industries, to meet the ordinary winter needs of the people, and to fill the bunkers of the ships waiting to carry food and supplies to our Allies.

"The Indus- All this was plain even to an eletries That Lie mentary intelligence. It was Behind" reasonable to assume, therefore, that all coal miners of draft age would be required to continue at mining, and that even more men would be assigned to mining by the draft officers, with honorable badges to mark them as in national service under a law which, as the President declared, was to select men for other necessary kinds of work, just as much as for "marching with the flag." Not less was it to be expected that all railway workers would be instructed to continue in the service, and especially that all machinists engaged in repairing locomotives and in the construction of new cars and railway engines would be required under the draft law to work six full days a week, and sometimes seven, in view of the emergency. For had not the President expressly said in proclaiming the law that "the machinist remains at his levers"? Again, at that very moment, the submarines were sinking Allied and neutral ships several times as fast as ships were being built; and Mr. Hoover had returned from London to Washington with the most alarming reports, showing that America must provide the tonnage to send food to England and France, or else the Germans would win everything in the very near future. Thus merchant shipbuilding became of prime urgency, and the Shipping Board proclaimed its great program, even including hundreds of wooden ships for the sake of getting tonnage of some

sort quickly into the water. These were the essentials as officially recognized by the President, the Cabinet, and Congress at the time when the selective draft law was passed. We had not nearly enough regular shipbuilders available and it was clearly understood that none would be spared, while many other men such as house-builders and various kinds of mechanics would be selected and assigned under the draft act—with proper badges and credentials—to work in the shipyards that were to provide the necessary tonnage. This was most imperative work.

The practical rules for applying As It Should the selective draft ought to have Have Been Enforced formed a part of the law itself. The details of administration ought to have been provided by a board of competent civilians, appointed by the President. This board, like Congress, would have understood the economic conditions of the country. It would have proceeded under the explicit terms of the law to register the 10,000,000 young men of draft age; it would have followed the President's proclamation, and the law, and would have assigned the entire number to essential tasks. The immediate result would have been more farm workers than previously; more shipbuilders, more miners, more railroad men. All men of leisure, all loafers, all men engaged in superfluous occupations, would have been assigned to something important for the country. The proper regulations to give the law effect could have been devised within a week, and the entire 10,000,000 could have been examined and assigned within a month. Out of the 10,000,000 there would have been, also, more than enough for the armed services, whether naval or land.

It was nothing short of a na-Special Army tional calamity that put the operation of the selective draft law into the hands of professional officers of the army, who had a totally different point of view from that of the statesmen who had produced and proclaimed the legislation. Of the two departments, the Navy was the better fitted to handle it; but it belonged properly to neither. The War Department bureaus had thought of the war only in terms of efficient armies. It is useless to blame the professional experts who had this unfortunate conception, and who had somehow made themselves believe that there were reasons of immediate importance to

America that called for the withdrawal for military service of all men physically fit, of certain ages. They had a vision of many armed divisions, after the pattern of the German, French, Austrian, Russian, and British armies that were contending at close range on the fighting fronts of Europe. They could think of America's part in the war only in the terms of men, in very large numbers, under the command of many new Major-Generals, new Brigadier-Generals, new Colonels, new Majors, and new commissioned officers of lesser rank. They studied the precedents of the Civil War, as to technical methods of drafting men into the army, and seemed to forget reversed condi-The North was fighting the Civil War mostly with volunteer troops, as against general conscription in the South. There came times when the draft was necessary to equalize the quotas of the different States and to keep the army at full strength. We drafted men then for explicit needs on an actual fighting front in very limited numbers, just as our Canadian neighbors are now doing.

The original purpose of our The Draft Act of 1917, however, was Patriotism something wholly different. It was to bring the human energy of the country to bear in a symmetrical way upon a series of vital tasks. Not most vital of those tasks was the Army's plan of segregating men in large military camps, and making huge standing armies in advance of equipment and of ships for Europe. Two things helped to lessen the immediate perception of the profound gravity of the mistake that had been made. One was the magnificent spirit of the American people in their purpose to do anything that patriotism might demand. other thing was the devoted and intelligent service of the unpaid citizens, many thousands of them altogether, who acted as so-called "exemption boards" in the different counties and localities, passed upon the men who were called up under the War Department's badly adapted lottery scheme, and who did what they could to read commonsense into the regulations that had been devised by the draft officers at Washington. It was an astonishing spectacle, for a few delirious weeks, of a great and intelligent country delivered over to the methods of army bureaus, ruled by red-tape and subordinating practical wisdom to the traditions of official seniority.



Clinedinst, Washington

SENATOR GEORGE F. CHAMBERLAIN OF OREGON

(Senator Chamberlain is Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and has been foremost in a series of investigations which have brought to light delays in war preparation, and especially a lack of effective co-ordinating of the different enterprises that come under the direction of the War Secretary)

Common Sense For a little time at least, the American people accepted the sitto the uation with much disturbance of spirit, but little complaint, on the doctrine of "theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die." This, however, is not a sound doctrine for an intelligent country like ours, and common sense is not going to be long suppressed. After having wrought no little harm to the country through several months of draft enforcement on the indefensible plan of the War Department, the arrangements have been totally changed through civilian pressure, and new regulations are extant for the further operations of the system. But it will continue to work badly until brought back to its original purpose. How the system has really worked, every agricultural and manufacturing district in the United States wholly understands to its painful detriment. Certain bureaus of the War Department, however, are still inclined to justify and point with pride to their success in taking the labor of the country away from the places where it was vitally needed, and impounding it in military reservations without regard to the President's wise declarations as to the way in which the law was to be applied.

We are now perceiving in every Causes direction the inevitable results of direction the incyrnass.

the War Department's attitude as regards its own part in the war. More men by far than the army was prepared to equip and to train were readily available, without taking men whose labor was vitally needed in agriculture, transportation, mining and manufacturing. Yet the army took scores of thousands of men away from the railroad services; from the machine shops; from the mines; and from the shipyards. Its policies and practices are in great part responsible for the coal crisis that has so crippled the national energies. It is even more directly responsible for that worse crisis that is soon to stare us in the face—the shortage of food, due to the taking of men.

Let no reader think we are fail-Germany ing to appreciate or support the Emplous main efforts of the Government in these serious times; it is precisely because we wish these efforts to succeed that we are endeavoring to show how the most pressing parts of the national program have been hampered and hurt by the precipitancy and mistakes of one department. The mechanism of a nation's economic life is intricate and delicate. To have turned the army bureaus at Washington loose with the powers that they have been exercising under the draft law is to go far beyond anything that the German militarists have ever undertaken. The German army is recruited and maintained with the utmost care to disturb agriculture and industry as little as possible. Hindenburg himself has never been given such discretion in dealing with the nation's life as Gen. Crowder has been allowed to exercise in this country. In Germany the generals carry on war; but economists and statesmen supply the soldiers as needed, and conserve the nation's economic vitality. Even near the front during the war, every German soldier who understands farming or other industries is employed back of the lines as much as possible in his own calling. Meanwhile, the Germans are using several million prisoners of war not only in agriculture, but even in munition works and other essential industries. Our army bureaus at Washington had, however, conceived of the idea of taking away several million young Americans from farms, shipyards and railroad trains, and mines, and segregating them in camps far from their homes and places of work. As a result, we have been defeating our own efforts.

How this proceeding could help Reasons Yet To Be our friends in Europe to defeat Germany was a question that had not apparently troubled the military mind at Washington. We were already short of labor and were running our farms with small man power and much machinery. A single man taken away from each of scores of thousands of farms was enough to put all of those farms out of effective operation at a time when the Agricultural Department was making a great war campaign for the production of surplus food. Our most necessary manufactured article was steel, and the whole world was calling for it; yet the policy of the army in taking the steel workers for soldiers was producing acute embarrassment in the steel mills. Never had our need of efficiency in transportation been so urgent; yet the War Department was seizing the railroad men from the manager's office down to the humblest employees. Thousands of locomotives were out of com-



WHAT A DIFFERENCE IT MAKES WHEN SOMEONE TRIES TO PASS HIM ON THE ROAD?

(Criticism seems to stimulate Secretary Baker, and the cartoonist shows him as not allowing anybody to pass him on the road. He has been making important changes in the organization of the business side of the army work, unifying and co-ordinating, while the Senate has been trying to force even more radical changes)

From the Tribune (New York)



C Harris & Ewing, Washington

THE SECRETARY OF WAR, HON. NEWTON D. BAKER, IN SESSION WITH HIS NEW ADVISORY BOARD

(Even those who have severely criticised the heads of army bureaus from the standpoint of business executives, do not question their military ability, and regard them as capable advisers in army matters. Sitting in the group from left to right are: Charles P. Day, of the United States Shipping Board; Major-General William Crozier (recent head of the Ordnance Bureau); Major-General E. M. Weaver; General Tasker H. Bliss (Chief of Staff); Secretary Baker; Benedict Crowell, the new Assistant Secretary of War; Major-General Enoch H. Crowder (Provost Marshal); Colonel Palmer E. Pearce, and Lieutenant Colonel Ulysses S. Grant, 3d)

mission and awaiting repairs because of the lack of skilled men. While all the forces and energies of the country were rising to the situation, the War Department was too eagerly claiming the stage and crowding others aside. It was not, apparently, understood by the army bureaus at Washington that great masses of untrained young Americans, mistakenly called "armies," could not be taken to the war in Europe without ships. On the other hand, there was no way of bringing the war here, to face these levies, who had little artillery and were still short of rifles. The program lacked balance.

It is by no means agreeable to Adant make comments of this kind, but leans to the time seems to have come for making them. It is necessary for the country to demand a careful re-study of what its leaders are trying to do, and how to adapt means to ends. We are willingly spending fabulous amounts of money and straining our economic resources for the sake of a good but ill-balanced program. The army has assumed a preëminence that belongs by right to the navy, and belongs next in order to agriculture, transportation (including both railways and ships and their construction and operation), the mining of coal and ore, the manufacture of steel, and all really essential industries. It is only because we are a very rich country, and a tremendously energetic

one, that we could dream of trying to do so many different things at the same time. We have accomplished wonders, but must plan to avoid disaster.

The investigations at Washing-Congress ton during December and Jan- -Inquiry uary brought to light some unfortunate conditions within this immense growth of the War Department and its activities. We have no intention of discussing these matters in much detail; we may simply observe that the greater naturally includes the less. The great mistake lay in expecting the War Department to do so much without checking the other important war work that the country had perceived that it must do. This particular war, so far as France is concerned, has meant armies rather than navies; for England, at first it had meant chiefly navies; then it meant both navies and armies, until now, with Russia so much withdrawn, it means armies rather than navies. For this very reason, the United States, coming in late, must help England in every possible way on the sea with navies and with merchant ships. If we use our merchant shipping to export many untrained infantry regiments to France, it must be on the assumption that we have been able to do the more urgent things first. This assumption, however, is erroneous. The mistakes made by all the other army bureaus put together are mere trifles as compared with the monumental mistake of the first set of regulations under which the spirit of the draft law was so wholly changed.

It has been remarked with some Good evident truth that the men who have from choice followed an army career in long periods of peace have presumably not liked the strain and turmoil of business life. The routine work of a very small army in times of peace is as different from the tasks that a nation assumes when it goes to war as can well be imagined. It is quite too much to expect that capable officers who have reached captaincies after middle age should be able to manage the chief activities of a great nation in times of emergency. The only wonder is that the army men at Washington, whose bureau work even in ordinary times is a matter of mild jest, should have risen so surprisingly to the colossal new duties that have been assigned to them in recent months. They are fine officers and good Americans, but not merchants or manufacturers. Russia is trying to find out just now what capacity there may be in the ordinary man who belongs to a committee of workmen or soldiers. We in the United States are, in a more orderly and in a somewhat too red-tape fashion, showing what can be done by inexperienced men. Our army officers are in fact fine men and splendid soldiers. We would not exchange them for those of any other country. Apart from war experience, they are better trained than any except the German.

Not so many months ago Mr. Mr. Baker Under Baker, now head of the War Department, came to an office about which he frankly said he knew nothing at all. At present, Mr. Baker probably knows as much about running a War Department as anyone else, here or abroad. If he had not been in the office-being a man of fine intelligence and keen analytical mind -he would probably have recognized the essential mistake of trying to create standing armies in a hurry when other things were even more needful. He has perhaps been too ready an apologist for the official machine with which he has so recently become acquainted. He has perhaps not guided the machine with enough initiative of his own, and has not until now found time to reconstruct it. He has devoted himself to the task that seemed to be thrown upon him.

The military training that from Certainly The Training one million to two millions of Has Value our young men are now obtaining will do most of them a great deal of They will personally be the more efficient; and the country will feel more secure in the fact of their increased ability to protect its interests. If we could have begun this process four or five years ago and carried it on more gradually, so that we might not have disturbed industry, it would have been a most excellent thing. Our criticism of it has merely to do with its place in an emergency program, in view of the conditions of the great war. There was never a chance of our being able to have millions of soldiers in Europe, prepared to fight, short of from two to three years after our entering the war. This is so because of the shipping problem, the food problem, and the other things. To some people, these facts have been clear all along. To many others, the hard facts in their relationship to one another became apparent only in the light of the coal famine, the railroad breakdown, and the food crisis of last month.

It is very proper that Congress Camp should have looked into the de-Conditions lays in the providing of rifles; into the clothing contracts; into the health conditions of the camps, and all else that concerns the welfare of the men. The most important thing has been the care of the health of the boys in the camps. The Government was not justified in taking men by draft until it was better prepared to supply them with clothing, guns, proper shelter, good food, ample medical and hospital facilities, and thoroughly competent oversight and training. Raising raw levies in a hurry to repel invaders is one thing; making armies as at present in the United States is something entirely different. There is scanty justification for some of the mismanagement discovered by Congress, and for some worse things not brought to light. But as we have already said, these mistakes in detail, together with the bad location of some of the cantonments and the extravagance in the building of the camps, are merely the inevitable consequence of undue haste in the making of the main program.

Some of our friends in Europe have been able to see more clearly the details of their own situation at a given moment than to see the war

in its larger bearing. The French Army last spring was unfortunate in not being properly sustained by the political authorities at Paris. There seems to have been a great deal more of wisdom and harmony in the relations between the British Government and the British armies than between Cabinets and soldiers in France. Mr. Wythe Williams, the talented correspondent of the New York Times has published a remarkable article in Collier's Weekly (see our summary on page 193 of this REVIEW) in which he shows with great explicitness that the failure of the French offensive last spring was due to politicians who destroyed the well-laid plans of General Nivelle and General Haig. same panicky influences in France that had interfered with that campaign of General Nivelle, seem to have conveyed their alarms to this side of the water. Our Government had announced its intention not to send troops to France because it had more immediate things to do. It was because certain Frenchmen, not now in places of authority, were so urgent in declaring that they preferred soldiers to any other form of aid, that our Government, seemingly against its own best judgment, entered upon the plan of sending untrained men in large numbers to be in evidence abroad. Our Government acted generously and in the spirit of good will. Our friends abroad were not at fault in their motives, but they were not in a position to lay down the main lines of America's war policy. Upon the whole we have not failed and we have begun well. War is a blundering business, at best.

The only men in all history who See Straight and Meet have ever accomplished anything in war have been those who could without hesitation change their minds to fit the facts. The Germans are now pretending that America has failed, and that we are to send food instead of men. The Germans also are loudly proclaiming their plan of a tremendous Western offensive by means of which they are in the near future going to break the French line and end the war. It has been very hard for the Allies to understand German military advertising. Ever since the Battle of the Marne, the English and the French have been stronger than the Germans on the Western front, and with present opportunities for massing munitions and preparing for activities in the spring, there is no good reason to think that the English and French cannot hold their



O Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE W. GOETHALS, THE NEW ACTING QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL

(General Goethals, the famed builder of the Panama Canal, after serving for a short time as head of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, resumed his post as Chief Adviser of the States of New York and New Jersey in the matter of the development of the Port of New York. He is now in authority over the operations of the Port, in so far as the army transport service is concerned. His executive ability and special knowledge make him the right man in the right place)

ground. The plain people of Germany are eager for peace. The imperialists still long for conquests. England and America meanwhile can so control the use of the seas in the interest of law-abiding nations that Germany's commercial future must be wholly at the command of her opponents. Our immediate task is to see that the submarine is overcome, and that British and French courage do not fail for lack of food, oil, copper and essential supplies.

Americans in general do not know how many men we have sent to France; impressions and opinions differ widely. The estimates given privately last month by a number of intelligent men in Washington (not the highest officials) varied from 100 to 300 per cent. We venture to assert that it is accurately known in Germany how many men we have sent to France and what they are doing there. The facts are also known in England and

France. American citizens have not sought to pry into necessary military secrets. Perhaps, however, it would be best to state frankly what we are doing, and to adopt an open policy with full courage. Congress last month was insisting upon a drastic reform of the War Department, and the bringing of all purchases of industrial supplies under one head who should not be controlled by the Secretary of War, but account directly to the President. There has also been a great demand for a War Cabinet. The excellent men who are at the head of the executive departments have their hands already full. Some of them are personally suited for the direction of America at war; several of them certainly are not. The President should probably have the help of a group who have no duties but the conduct of the war. Yet these questions of organization are not easy to settle.

Mr. Simonds reviews for us Just Terms this month, as usual, the mili-Peace tary situation in Europe and the political situation as it bears upon the war. His survey is of surpassing interest and Winter conditions last month had checked the fighting, and the clamor of the working classes in Europe demanding peace had begun to make itself heard with the lessening of the roar of great guns. The British Labor Party had assumed a new importance, and its expressions were quite as statesmanlike in their grasp of realities, while also as dignified and serious in form as were the utterances of the Prime Minister or any



THE BREAKING POINT From the World (New York)

members of the British Cabinet. The notions held and expressed by the British Labor Party are more nearly in accord with those of President Wilson than are the typical views of the ruling class. Under the influence of the British labor movement Mr. Lloyd George last month made statements regarding the war aims and peace terms of the Allies that were more moderate and reasonable, and that were also more frank, than his previous statements. His speech was followed by an address of President Wilson's which was accepted throughout the United States as expressing America's opinions. Professor Commons in a remarkable article written for this number of the REVIEW supports the President's program for world peace, and further discusses the practical problem of disarmament and future security.

President Wilson's more imme-Russia in diate object seems to have been Critical to convey to the Russian people an assurance that Americans sympathize with them in their efforts and struggles. The frankness and the boldness of Trotzky and Lenine in the peace negotiations with Germany at Brest-Litovsk have surprised the entire world. Germany had entered on the negotiations pretending to accept the Russian doctrine of "no annexations"; but it soon appeared that Germany had no intention of evacuating occupied Russian territories, and the negotiations seem doomed to failure. The attention of our readers is invited to Dr. Goldenweiser's article on the Russian situation on page 188. This brilliant and accomplished writer has been connected with the Russian Commission in New York in a legal capacity, and also represents that stable organization known as the "Union of the Zemstvos." Like all other able Russians and all American friends of Russia, he believes that the Revolution will work itself out successfully, although it will probably be several years before a stable federated republic is established.

The great object of the Socialist element led by Lenine and Trotzky seems to be the awakening of the spirit of popular revolt in Germany. As yet the signs of a real German awakening are not very hopeful. It seems almost impossible for the German mind to rid itself of the false notion of conquest, annexations and the domination of other

peoples. Yet Germany is suffering so much from the war that her programs must fail, provided the Allies keep their confidence and proceed in the right way. If a peace should come that does not rest upon those permanent principles of disarmament and world organization that President Wilson and all Americans demand, we shall be compelled to adopt a military and naval policy to meet the facts. Sooner or later the plain German people will obtain control of their own country, and they will be glad to get rid of the burdens of militarism, provided their neighbors have the same mind. It begins to seem that much which we had hoped to accomplish at one stroke with the making of peace will have to await processes of political evolution that will surely follow the termination of the war. Germany has essentially failed, and the world is henceforth duly on guard. Aggressive militarism is doomed. The quicker the carnage of the war ceases, the sooner can all countries take up their problems of internal reform, and strive for democratic progress.

Austria and Hungary are so war weary and wretched that the autocratic leaders and militarists are having increasing difficulty to keep the people from revolt and the army itself from breaches of discipline. Germany of late has been kept in line only by the assurance that a little more patience and effort will bring not only peace, but victory and a prosperous future. The French people are having an extremely hard winter, and our



THE FIGHT BEHIND THE LINES From the World (New York)



EARL READING, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND, WHO IS AT WASHINGTON AS BRITISH HIGH COM-MISSIONER AND SPECIAL AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

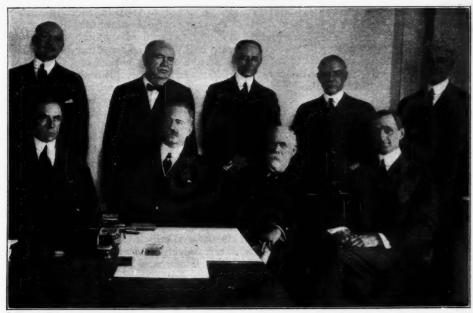
own men in that country have not been as comfortable or as well off as the rosy tales encouraged by the military authorities would indicate. The primary purpose of the Fuel Administration's coal order seems to have been to supply bunker coal to some two hundred or more ships that were tied up in Atlantic ports, most of them laden with supplies for our own troops in France, or with food and other materials for French and Allied Governments and peoples. In England they are now planning to take some of the surplus man-power that has been heretofore needed in the shipvards and vast munition works and other industries, and increase the armies. The British are in far better condition than the Germans, both morally and physically. The British Government and the working men stand upon virtually the same platform as to conditions of war The British Army has by noand peace. means reached its maximum of possible strength. If the Irish question can be settled soon, many more men may be supplied by the Irish themselves, while many British troops now in Ireland to keep order can be sent to France. The cause of the Allies will look better in the spring weather of April than it has looked in the wintry weeks of January.

The Government On December 26, President Wilson issued his proclamation putting the railroads of the country under Government control and operation as a measure necessary in the conduct of the war. Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo was appointed Director General of Railroads, and the transportation lines of the United States were on noon of Friday, December 28, actually taken out of the hands of their owners. In taking this momentous step, the President rehearsed briefly the recent history of efforts to straighten out the transportation tangle throughout the country, and gave full credit to the managers of the railroads for their loyal and able work in striving to operate the lines efficiently under the fearful handicaps brought by war conditions. In a statement accompanying the formal proclamation, the President also gave full assurance to investors in railway securities that their rights and interests would "be as scrupulously looked after by the Government as they could be by the directors of the several railway systems." The statement pointed out that it was, under the conditions of to-day, quite impossible, no matter what degree of zeal and intelligence was shown by the railway managers, that the lines could be run as efficiently under private and competing control as they could be run as a unit by the Government. It was added that we were the only belligerent power that had not already assumed control of this sort over its transportation lines.

Later, on January 4, President The Details Wilson addressed Congress in of Control joint session and recommended specific legislation to finance the railroads and protect their stockholders during the period of war control. The bill outlining the details of Government control was presented by Representative Sims, chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign It incorporates the President's specific suggestion that the compensation to - the stockholders for the Government's use of their property should be the average net income of the roads for the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1917. The measure also calls for an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to be used for expenses of control, buying equipment and, in general, putting the railroads into condition to meet the demands upon them. During the period of federal control, depreciation and maintenance appropriations are to be included as part of the operating expenses to the end that the rail-road properties shall be handed back to their owners, as the President promised, in as good condition as when they were taken over by the Government.

The concluding paragraph of Does It Mean the Administration's bill pro-Government vides that the federal control of transportation systems outlined in it "shall continue for and during the period of the war and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise." It is this brief statement that gave most food for thought and discussion in Congress and throughout the country. This question, left so wide open in the wording of the Sims bill, was the one most debated in the work of pushing the measure through. Prophecies were not wanting that the arrangement made Government ownership inevitable and that the roads would never be returned to their private owners. Many Democrats, fearful of the dangers of Government ownership under present conditions, were ready to join with Republican members of the House and Senate in so amending the bill as to limit the period of Government control to some definite number of months following the war. The exact form of amendment, however, was a highly perplexing problem, even to those who were most firmly convinced of the unwisdom of Government control, because it is obvious that conditions immediately succeeding peace may be such as to render railroad operation under private ownership quite as impracticable as it was found to be in the winter of 1917-18.

Even two years ago, a sudden Railroad Owners Heartily proposal that the Government should take the transportation systems away from their owners for an indefinite period would undoubtedly have produced a panic on the Stock Exchange and furious opposition on the part of railway managers and railway stockholders. So rapidly have conditions changed under the powerful acceleration of the great war; so hopeless had become the fight of the railway managers to overcome the rapidly rising costs of material and labor, and to clear their lines of the congestion resulting from war activities and inadequate equipment, that the President's proclamation was received everywhere with profound relief. The quotations for standard railway securities jumped



(Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

DIRECTOR GENERAL MCADOO AND HIS RAILROAD ADVISORY BOARD

(The men in this group are closely associated with Secretary McAdoo in operating the country's railroad system as a governmental task. Mr. McAdoo is seated on the right. Next to him is Mr. Henry Walters, president of the Atlantic Coast Line. In front of the table is Mr. John Skelton Williams, who is also Controller of the Currency. At the left is Mr. Alfred H. Smith, president of the New York Central. Standing at the left behind Mr. Smith is Mr. Hale Holden, president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Next, proceeding from left to right is Mr. Edward Chambers, Mr. Walker D. Hines, Judge John B. Payne and Mr. Oscar A. Price, who is secretary to the Director-General. President Aishton, of the Chicago & Northwestern, and President Markham, of the Illinois Central, have been named as directors, respectively, for the country west of the Mississippi and the Southeast; but they are not in the photograph. President Smith is Director for the East)

from five to eighteen points overnight. Not a dissenting voice was heard. The representatives of the great railway brotherhoods waited on Mr. McAdoo, and agreed in the national emergency to leave the adjustment of their claims for increased wages in his hands. It will be remembered that the trainmen's unions had, in the autumn, demanded increases in pay of no less than 40 per cent., and had expected answers to this demand by January 1.

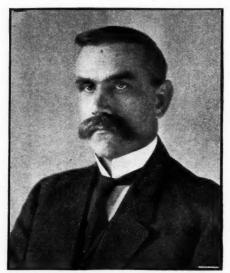
The basis of compensation to se-How Security Owners Will curity holders is, as was stated above, an annual rental for use. of their property equal to the average net income of the roads for the three years ending 1917. Of these three years, 1915 was a very poor one for railroad earnings in general, 1916 was perhaps the best on record, and 1917 showed good earnings, though not so prosperous as the preceding year. round figures the compensation provided by the Sims bill would amount to something less than \$950,000,000 annually, which

would provide an average return of nearly 5½ per cent. on the aggregate investment of the railroads-generally figured at around \$17,500,000,000. This is an average figure. Many roads, probably a majority out of the whole number, will not show such large earnings as the average of the threeyear period. Nor does the fact that the Government guarantees such a net income mean that it will all be available for dividends, nor necessarily any part of it. Furthermore, the matter of war taxes will somewhat complicate the situation for stockholders. It is true that the Sims bill provides that no federal taxes in excess of those assessed during the year ending June 30, 1917, shall be imposed during the period of Government control; but it has not been shown as yet just how the excess profits and other taxes for 1917 will affect railway incomes. Clear and explicit in the Administration bill, on the other hand, is the provision that any earnings of a road in excess of the specified three-year average "shall be the property of the United States."

The Position of While the general opinion is that Smaller and the formula suggested by President Wilson for compensation is, in the main, quite fair to the stockholders and bondholders as well as to the nation, there remain some puzzling questions to be decided for certain groups of roads and certain individual carriers. In the middle of January it became known that Mr. McAdoo was not intending to take over the small "feeder" class of railroads on the ground that they were not essential to the Government's war program. There was at once the most active protest from these short lines on the score that they would be utterly helpless -left to the war demands of labor and all sorts of higher costs, and with the Government moving all the freight possible on the trunk lines. Even more important for individual treatment is the group of recently reorganized railroad systems, such as the Missouri Pacific, Rock Island, St. Louis & San Francisco, and Wabash. Such roads show in many cases actual deficits in the years specified to make up the standard average, but are now, after drastic re-organization and the courageous investment of large amounts of new capital at a time when great courage was needed to invest money in railroads at all, on their way to profitable operation.

Shutting Down Three-fourths of the population of the United States was astonished and staggered, on the sixteenth of January, by Fuel Administrator Garfield's order to shut down practically all industry on prescribed days. The territory east of the Mississippi and all of Louisiana and Minnesota came under the scope of the sudden entirely unexpected prohibition. The order established vigorous priority rules in the selling of fuel, giving preference to railroads, domestic consumers, hospitals, army and navy, public utilities, ships, Government purposes and manufacturers of perishable foods. But what the country was totally unprepared for was the further prescription of certain days-January 18 to 22, inclusive, and thereafter each Monday up to and including March 25-on which no manufacturing plants, with certain exceptions, could use fuel even if already well supplied with coal. Furthermore, on the specified Mondays, all business offices, stores and places of amusement were prohibited from using fuel. Later, theaters were permitted to close Tuesday instead of Monday.

Mr. Garfield issued a supple-A Great Protest From mental statement in which he explained that the unprecedentedly cold and stormy weather of this midwinter, coming at a time of railroad congestion, and excessive demands of the war, had made necessary his drastic action. He appealed to the patriotism of individual citizens to accept his strenuous measure and cooperate with the Administration. Perhaps this appeal would have brought a better response if the public had been in the least prepared for what was before it, or if the country had cognizance of all conditions that lay before the Fuel Administrator and the President when they determined on such a desperate measure. But the country was not prepared, and if the general fuel situation was so critical as to justify this attempt at remedying it, the nation had not been told. There was, consequently, a storm of protests and complaints to Washington in the midst of which could be heard only here and there the voices of those who were willing to trust the Administration's judgment in the matter. The current estimates had it that the shutting down of industries would throw more than six million people out of employment on the prescribed days in the twenty-eight States affected by the order. The confusion resulting from such a stoppage of industry simply stunned America.



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HON. REED SMOOT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM UTAH

(Mr. Smoot is leading in the attempt to improve the new federal taxes on business)

Congress and the Administra-A Blundertion, as we have said, were The Nation's deluged with protests from all parts of the country on January 17, when the order became known to the public. Mr. Garfield appeared before a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Manufactures and attempted to justify his move to unsympathetic hearers. The Senate adopted a resolution (by a vote of 50 to 19), calling on the Fuel Administrator to postpone putting the order into effect for five days, to give time for further discussion of its necessity. Two days later President Wilson issued a statement giving full approval to the measure, on the ground that it is absolutely necessary to get the ships away, it is absolutely necessary to move great quantities of food and it is absolutely necessary that our people should be warmed in their homes, if nowhere else, and half-way measures would not have accomplished the desired ends."

What the Coal The anthracite coal producers are advertising for workers, of-Doing fering the highest wages ever paid for such labor and unprecedentedly favorable working conditions. They have now 152,000 miners, as against 177,000 in 1916. In spite of the labor shortage they produced last year 77,000,000 tons of coal, about 13 per cent more than in any previous year. The increase in the volume of bituminous coal taken from the mines in 1917 was 42,-000,000 tons over 1916. The total coal production for the year was 544,000,000 tons. It is surprising to find that the coal experts put the proportion exported at only a little over 3 per cent., half of which went to Canada. The exports of bituminous coal actually fell off during the year. United States is producing now about half of all the coal mined in the world; and, as shown above, is using nearly all of her half inside the country. Some of the reasons why, in spite of this enormous output, we have been at our wits' ends to keep warm and keep the wheels moving this winter, is shown in Mr. Harrington Emerson's very interesting article, "Submarines and Coal."

Senator Smoot's On January 5, Senator Smoot, War Tax of Utah, introduced a series of amendments to the federal revenue law designed to make it workable and equitable. His proposed changes would



HON. HARRY A. GARFIELD, CHIEF OF THE FUEL ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. Garfield, who is one of two distinguished sons of a former President, is himself head of Williams College, and for several months he has been chief of the Fuel Administration. He is a lawyer, a political scientist, and a public man as well as an educator. A recent statement by him on the coal problem is summarized on page 202)

simplify and vastly improve the excess profits action and would repeal in toto the very unwise and unjust zone system of second class postal rate increases. His most important proposal is to make the excess profits tax truly an excess war profits tax by establishing a standard normal rate of pre-war earnings. He arrives at this by taking the average of the five years before the war, and taxing, for 1917, any excess over this standard normal very heavily, up to 80 per cent in the last graduation. Senator Smoot's plan is directly along the lines advocated in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS last summer; and his amendments, if adopted, would change an inequitable, obscure and unworkable revenue measure into a simple, just and effective one. Senator Smoot's plan would raise more money, at less expense and trouble, and with less hardship to individuals and business.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From December 20, 1917, to January 20, 1918)

The Last Part of December

December 20.—Premier Lloyd George addresses the House of Commons on Britain's peace terms; he demands restoration of national territory conquered by Germany, with reparation for damage; the future of Mesopotamia and Armenia to be settled by a peace conference, the future of German colonies to be based upon wishes of native races; Russia's separate negotiations dispose of all questions about Constantinople and about Russian territory.

A Bolshevist organ in Petrograd publishes what it declares to be the text of a secret treaty between Japan and Russia (dated July 3, 1916), providing for a joint course of action to avert political domination in China by any third power.

Returns from Australia's referendum on the Government's conscription proposal show its defeat by 889,000 votes for conscription to 1,072,000 against; the soldier vote also appears to be against conscription.

December 22.—A peace conference assembles at Brest-Litovsk, German-occupied Russia, with delegates from Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey; among the delegates are the German and Austrian foreign ministers.

Three British destroyers are sunk at night off the Dutch coast, by mines or torpedoes, with a loss of 193 lives.

December 23.—The Hungarian Government, according to an Amsterdam dispatch, introduces an electoral reform bill in parliament.

The seventh German war loan is reported to have totaled \$3,156,415,000.

General Sarrail is succeeded as commander of the Allied armies at Salonica by Gen. Marie Louis Adolphe Guillaumat.

December 24.—A report on the Halifax disaster of December 6 places the destruction of life and property at: killed, 150; seriously injured, 4,000; homeless, 20,000; damage to homes, \$15,000,000; damage to civic, government, institutional, and industrial property \$25,000,000.

December 25.—At the peace conference at Brest-Litovsk, the Central Powers propose to Russia and her allies "a general peace without forcible annexations and indemnities," with restoration of political independence to those nations which lost it during the war; the return of German colonial territories Germany will not renounce under any circumstances; the conference adjourns until January 8.

France and Germany reach an agreement, through the Swiss Government, for the exchange of prisoners of 48 years or over; officers of that age are to be interned in Switzerland.

December 26.—Vice-Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss is appointed First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty, succeeding Admiral Sir John Iellicoe.

December 27.—A Turkish army is defeated in an attempt to retake Jerusalem from the British.

December 28.—Wide dissatisfaction is reported in Russia after knowledge and study of Germany's proposals regarding occupied Russian territory: that Russia must recognize the demand of the peoples of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia for self-government, and that German troops will not be withdrawn from those territories.

The Bulgarian Prime Minister is reported as declaring to the Parliament that the war aims of Bulgaria are the unification of the nation within its historic boundaries, and the extension of frontiers to reach all the Bulgarian race, including the recovery of the Dobrudja from Rumania and of parts of Macedonia from Serbia.

December 30.—Heavy snows in the mountainous section of the new Italian line are believed to have effectively blocked for the winter any further Austro-German attempt to break through.

Bessarabia and Turkestan are reported to have declared their independence of the Petrograd government; similar action had recently been taken by Finland, Courland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, and Siberia.

The First Week of January

January 3.—Chancellor von Hertling informs the main committee of the Reichstag that Germany cannot accept Russia's proposal that German troops should evacuate Russian territory where the people have declared in favor of withdrawing from the Petrograd government.

The opening of the constituent assembly in Russia is set for January 18, provided a quorum of 400 members is present.

January 5.—Premier Lloyd George restates in detail the war aims of Great Britain; he declares that the destruction of Germany or Austria-Hungary is not a war aim with the British, nor the separation of Turkey's capital; but Belgium must be restored with reparation, as well as Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania, and there must be reconsideration of the Alsace-Lorraine "wrong of '71"; Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine must not be restored to Turkish sovereignty, and the Dardanelles must be neutralized.

January 7.—Earl Reading, Lord Chief Justice of England, is appointed High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States, Lord Northcliffe to be chairman at London.

The Second Week of January

January 8.—President Wilson addresses Congress on America's program of world peace; he specifies fourteen "rectifications of wrong and assertions of right," including public diplomacy, freedom of the seas, equality of trade conditions, reduction of armaments, adjustment of colonial claims in accord with interests of the population, the evacuation of Russian territory, evacuation

oim S. Grey Brench

and restoration of occupied territories, readjustment of Italy's frontiers along lines of nationality, free opportunity for autonomous development for peoples of Austria-Hungary and non-Turkish portions of Ottoman Empire, free access to the sea for Poland and Serbia, and an association of nations to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations.

The Nationalist ministry in Australia, under Premier William M. Hughes, resigns as a result of the defeat of conscription by popular vote; Frank Gwynne Tudor, leader of the Labor party, becomes Premier.

The peace conference at Brest-Litovsk, between delegates from the Teutonic Powers and Russia, is resumed.

January 10.-Premier Radoslavoff is reported as informing the Bulgarian parliament that war between Russia and Bulgaria has ceased, and that diplomatic and commercial relations are resumed.

Submarine destruction of merchant ships is placed by the Berlin Tageblatt at 821,000 tons monthly from February (when the submarine campaign was renewed) to December.

Germany's peace offer to the Entente Allies is withdrawn by the German representatives at the Brest-Litovsk conference, because of its non-acceptance.

Reports from Rostov (southern Russia) declare that the Cossacks have proclaimed a Republic of the Don, with General Kaledine as its head.

January 12.-The armistice between Russia and Germany is prolonged for a month, at the request of the Russians.

January 13.—German newspapers make comment on "the great political crisis" successfully passed (brought about by the apparent failure of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference), resulting in a victory for the militarist element as against the diplomatists and the Reichstag leaders.

January 14.-The Bolshevist government at Petrograd demands of Rumania the release of Russians arrested for spreading disaffection in

the Rumanian Army. Joseph Caillaux, former Prime Minister of France, is placed under arrest charged with conspiring with the enemy.

The Third Week of January

January 15 .- The British Labor Party and the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress inform the Russian labor leaders of their support of the principles of no annexations, no indemnities, and self-determination.

January 16.-The American Secretary of State publishes intercepted telegrams from the German Ambassador at Washington, which refer to peace activities of former Premier Caillaux of France with German agents in 1915.

The United States Fuel Administrator orders the closing down of manufacturing industries for five consecutive days and for the following nine Mondays, in order to save fuel and relieve railroad congestion.

January 17 .- The House of Commons by vote of 136 to 49 rejects an amendment to the Man Power bill, which would have applied conscription to Ireland against the Government's wishes.

The Russian Premier, Lenine, orders the arrest of the King of Rumania by Bolshevik adherents on the Rumanian front.

January 18 .- The long delayed Constituent Assembly is opened at Petrograd; M. Tchernoff (Minister of Agriculture in the Kerensky government) is elected chairman, defeating the Bolshevist candidate.

January 19.—The Russian Constituent Assembly is dissolved by the Lenine government, after one session characterized by heated discussion of peace

January 20.-In a naval engagement at the entrance to the Dardanelles, with British vessels, the former German cruiser Breslau (now Turkish) is sunk and the Goeben is driven ashore.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From December 20, 1917, to January 20, 1918)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 4.—Both branches assemble in joint session and are addressed by the President on the Administration's purpose in assuming control of railroads and on necessary legislation relating to financial phases of the transfer.

In both branches, a bill is introduced embodying the Administration's proposals for compensation to railroads and to owners of railroad stocks; each road is to be guaranteed its average net operating income for the last three years, and an appropriation of \$500,000,000 is proposed to make up any deficit and to finance necessary improvements.

In the Senate, Mr. Chamberlain (chairman of the Military Affairs Committee) offers a bill for the creation of a Department and a Secretary of

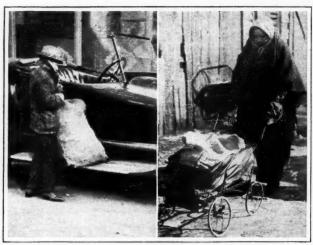
January 8 .- Both branches assemble in joint

session and are addressed by the President on the war aims and peace terms of the United States (see under "Record of Events in the War").

January 10 .- The House (by vote of 274 to 136, the exact two-thirds required) adopts a resolution providing for the submission of a woman-suffrage Constitutional amendment to the States; the Democrats divide almost evenly, while the Republicans vote overwhelmingly in favor of the amendment.

January 16 .- The Senate, by vote of 50 to 19, passes a resolution calling on the Fuel Administrator to postpone for five days his order curtailing industrial activity to save coal; but the order is formally promulgated by the Administrator before the resolution is presented to him.

January 19.-The Senate Committee on Military Affairs, without approval of the Administration,



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RICH AND POOR ALIKE GLAD TO GET COAL EVEN IN SMALL QUANTITIES AND TO MAKE THEIR OWN DELIVERIES

completes a bill for the creation of a War Cabinet "of three distinguished citizens of demonstrated ability," to formulate policies and to supervise activities of the executive departments.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 25.—George W. P. Hunt (Dem.) assumes office as Governor of Arizona, following a decision of the State Supreme Court which reversed the 1916 election count and unseated Thomas E. Campbell (Rep.).

December 26.—President Wilson issues a proclamation placing all railroads under Government possession and control from noon on December 28; William G. McAdoo (Secretary of the Treasury) is appointed Director-General of Railroads.

December 28.-The railroads of the country

pass from private to Government control and operation, without change of personnel but with unified direction from Washington to relieve congestion, car shortage, and food and fuel famines in various sections.

Testifying before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the commanding general at Camp Bowie, Ft. Worth, Texas, states that during an epidemic 8000 men (one-third of his command) passed through the base hospital in one month, and that 17,000 men were without overcoats on December 8.

December 30.—The Department of Justice announces plans for registering unnaturalized Germans (estimated to number 500,000), the data to be obtained including photographs and finger-prints.

December 31.—America's foreign trade for the year 1917 is estimated by the Department of

Commerce to have been approximately \$6,000,000,000 in exports and \$3,000,000,000 in imports.

January 2.—The Secretary of War announces plans for reorganizing the Ordnance Department of the Army, consolidating its divisions and making possible the introduction of civilian experts.

A summary of the confidential report of Colonel House, on his mission to Great Britain and France, is made public at Washington; the report recommends the exertion of influence to secure unity of action among the Allies, the extension of America's shipping program, and the dispatch of fighting forces "with the least possible delay incident to training and equipment."

January 3.—A report of the Provost Marshal General gives statistics of the first draft; of 9,586,508 men registered, 3,082,949 were examined,



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ONE OF HUNDREDS OF HEATLESS OFFICE BUILDINGS



(Western Newspaper Union

WAITING IN LINE FOR A BAG OR A PAIL OF COAL

FAMILIAR SCENES DURING THE COAL FAMINE IN NEW YORK LAST MONTH



AUTOMOBILING ON THE HUDSON, NEAR NEW YORK CITY, AND FISHING THROUGH THE ICE

1,057,363 were certified for service, and 687,000 were called to the colors.

January 7.—The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Selective Draft Law.

Major-Gen. George W. Goethals is appointed Acting Quartermaster-General of the Army.

January 8.—The proposed Prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution is ratified by both branches of the Mississippi legislature, the first State to act on the amendment.

January 9.—The Shipping Board decides to spend \$1,200,000 immediately on housing accommodations for shipyard workers at Newport News, Va., Congress presumably to make direct provision for extending the housing plan.

January 10.—The Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, testifies before the Senate Committee

on Military Affairs, declaring that "no army of similar size in the history of the world has been raised, equipped, or trained so quickly."

The Red Cross reports upon its war work, showing a membership of 22,000,000 and a war fund of \$106,525,000, less expenditures of \$30,000,000.

January 13.—The Naval Ordnance Bureau is praised for its efficiency by the House Committee on Naval Affairs, after hearings.

January 14.—Both branches of the Kentucky legislature ratify the proposed prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution.

January 15.—The Secretary of Labor creates an Advisory Council, to co-ordinate the war labor work of his department.

January 16.—The Fuel Administrator, H. A. Garfield, issues a drastic order for the purpose of conserving coal and relieving railroad congestion; for five days beginning January 18, and on nine Mondays following, no manufacturing plants (with a few specified exceptions) shall burn fuel or use power derived from fuel; he further directs that on the nine



O International Film Service

THE ICE JAM IN NEW YORK HARBOR, BLOCKING COAL DELIVERIES FROM NEW JERSEY TERMINALS

Mondays no fuel shall be burned for heating business offices, stores, amusement places, etc.

January 18.—President Wilson issues his statement justifying the Fuel Administrator's closing order, and stating that he had been consulted before the order was issued.

The Director General of Railroads appoints a commission to adjust wage disputes.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 20.—Thirty-eight persons are killed and many injured in a rear-end train collision near Sheperdsville, Ky.

December 25.—The first of a series of destructive earth shocks occurs at Guatemala City.

December 26.—A detachment of American cavalry pursues Mexican bandits across the border, after a raid upon a ranch at Candelaria,



HOW THE MISSISSIPPI AND ALLIED RIVER SYSTEMS CAN BE USED TO RELIEVE RAILROAD FREIGHT CONGESTION (See page 174)

Texas; ten of the Mexicans are killed, without loss to the Americans.

December 30.—A cold wave spreads over the entire northeast; at New York the official temperature is 13 degrees below zero, 7 degrees lower than any record of the Weather Bureau since its establishment in 1871.

December 31.—The earth shocks at Guatemala City, continuing, are reported to have caused small loss of life but to have rendered the entire population homeless.

January 1.—Fire destroys two blocks in the business section of Norfolk, Va., causing property loss amounting to \$2,000,000.

January 4.—Further earth shocks destroy what remains of Guatemala City.

OBITUARY

December 22.—Henry Dodge Estabrook, a prominent New York lawyer and a Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1916, 63.

December 23.—Ellsworth R. Bathrick, Representative in Congress from Ohio, 54.

December 24.—Francis Griffith Newlands, United States Senator from Nevada, chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, 69. . . . Levi P. Gilbert, D.D., of Cincinnati, a widely known Methodist minister and editor, 65.

December 26. — Rear-Adm. John Schouler, U. S. N., retired, 71.



DR. FELIX CALONDER (Newly elected President of Switzerland for 1918)

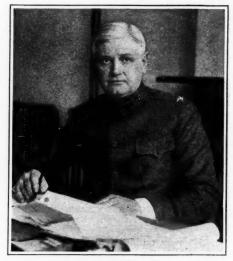
December 27.—Dr. Theodore Caldwell Janeway, professor of medicine at Johns Hopkins and a noted diagnostician, 45.

December 28.—John R. Thornton, recently United States Senator from Louisiana, 71.

December 29.—Helen Kinne, widely known as a teacher and writer in the field of domestic science, 56.

December 30.—Gen. Anson G. McCook, a f a mo us Civil War veteran, former Member of Congress from Ohio, and publisher of the Law Journal, 82.

January 1.—Dr. Joseph Price Remington, dean of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, 70.



COLONEL SAMUEL M'ROBERTS, A CIVILIAN EXPERT NOW IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT

(The reorganization of the army's Ordnance Bureau, last month, brought into the Government service a number of civilians of high business standing who have had wide experience in the purchase and production of munitions. Among these is Mr. Inow Colonel] McRoberts, executive manager of the National City Bank of New York, who will have charge of the procurement division of the Ordnance Bureau. He played an important part in the vast purchases of munitions for the Allies, prior to our entrance into the war. His new appointment furnishes an instance of the tendency utilize the services of "citizens of demonstrated ability")

January 3.—Mrs. Annie Sherwood Hawks, author of many well-known hymns, 83.

January 5.—Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, Roman Catholic Bishop of Detroit, 84.

January 8.—Ellis H. Roberts, former Treasurer of the United States, 90.

January 10.—Rear Adm. John Adams Howell, U. S. N., retired, inventor of torpedo-propelling and disappearing gun-carriage devices, 77.

January 13.—James H. Brady, United States Senator from Idaho, 55.

January 14.—Major Augustus Peabody Gardner, U. S. A., recently Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, and a noted advocate of preparedness, 52.

January 18.-Dr. William H. Thompson, a prominent New York physician.



CARTOONS ON WORLD TOPICS



LETTING DOWN A LADDER
From the Evening Mail (New York)

PRESIDENT WILSON'S statement of our war aims before Congress on January 8, the great international feature in the month's news, has impressed American cartoonists with peculiar force. Its idealism is represented on this page in four different aspects—the definite proposals made by the President for a peace that shall satisfy the



THE MESSAGE
From the World-Herald (Omaha)



UPON THE ANSWER DEPENDS THE PEACE OF THE
WORLD
From the Tribune (Chicago)

legitimate claims of all nations, great and small, the appeal to a liberalized Germany, the torch of hope held up before oppressed peoples everywhere, and the real unity of the aims of the Allies, as expressed by both Lloyd George and President Wilson during the past month.



THE SECOND SHAFT FOLLOWS THE FIRST!
From the Press (Philadelphia)



OVERBALANCED
From the Evening World (New York)



DON'T WORRY, THERE'S A GUN PACKED IN THE BOX SOMEWHERE From the Oregonian (Portland)



TO CONGRESS: "WATCH THE DRIBBLINGS FROM THE SPIGOT, BUT DON'T FORGET THE BUNGHOLE AT THE SIDE!"—Cartoon in the Washington Times by Representative Baer, of North Dakota.



SUGGESTION FOR A MONUMENT IN FRONT OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT From the Tribune (Chicago)



THE RACE IS NOT ALWAYS TO THE SLOW! See Mr. Ferguson's testimony before the Senate Committee. From the Herald (New York)



ALICE IN HOOVERLAND
From the Evening Telegram (New York)

After all, Uncle Sam is convinced, as John Cassel observes in his Evening World cartoon (preceding page), that our war accomplishments to date far outweigh our war mistakes. Nevertheless, the people, and



THE PREMIERS
From the Evening Post (New York)



OLIVER TWIST HOOVER From the News (Dallas)

especially the women folk, are worried, as never before, by domestic problems—fuel and food, for instance—and we are now getting a bit of the same kind of experience that our Allies and Germany have already passed through. At the bottom of this page we have a suggestion, in the New York Evening Post cartoon, of the tremendous power of the British Labor Party, while at the right the dominance of militarists in German national councils is pictured.



SAY! WHO'S RUNNING THIS CAR? From the Evening Mail (New York)



CHORUS OF ALLIES TO THE RESOLUTE BOLSHEVIK—SHAKE, FRIEND!

From the Oregonian (Portland)

On this page and the one opposite are gathered some representative cartoons—both American and European—on the Russian situation. While ever changing, this has continued to be the chief topic of world discussion. The American cartoons, naturally, depict later phases of the cessation of hostilities on the Russian front.



WILHELM: "YOU BEAT RUSSIA; NOW TRY
AMERICA!"
From the News (Dayton)



PEACE HATH ITS VICTORIES From the Times (New York)



THAT PEACE PARLEY BETWEEN THE GERMAN MILI-TARIST AND THE RUSSIAN PEASANT From the Public Ledger (Philadelphia)



THE WOLF AND THE LAMB-BAH! From Financial Mail (London)



THE PEACE OF RUSSIA UNCLE SAM: "If you quit the rifle you shan't eat."

JAPAN: "If you quit the rifle you will meet trouble."

From Esquella (Barcelona, Spain)



THE PEACEMAKER From the Sunday Chronicle (Manchester, England)



IN RUSSIA-THE DIVISION OF LAND From La Victoire (Paris)



IVAN THE INNOCENT AND THE WILY WOLF "Then we are not really enemies?" said Ivan the Innocent.

Innocent.

"Certainly not," replied the Wily Wolf; "we are long-lost brothers, and I have only come to save you from the wicked Lion. Give me your axe and I will grind it for you." Ivan the Innocent gave him his axe and then the Wily Wolf—

(Ivan will very soon find out the sequel.)

From the Westminster Gazette (London)

Feb.-3



BETRAYED THE PANDER: "Come and be kissed by him." From Punch (London)



THE NEED OF MEN

MR. Punch (to the Comber-out): "More power to your elbow, sir. But when are you going to fill up that silly gap?"

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES: "Hush! Hush! We're waiting for the Millennium."

From Punch (London)

England's cartoonists devote most of their attention to domestic problems, with here and there pointed criticism of German war aims and glory over British military success in Palestine and East Africa.



THE TWO AIMS

We are told by the advocates of Peace by Negotiation that both sides have only plainly to state their aims to see how similar they really are.

From the Evening News (London)



GERMAN EAST AFRICA From Punch (London)



THE WINTER'S "TAIL"

PHOTOGRAPHER: "Smile and look pleasant, please!"

From the Evening News (London)



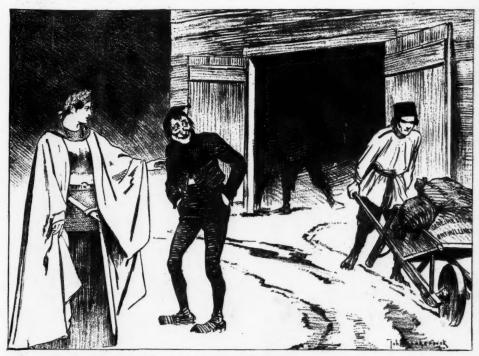
WHY NOT USE IT?
From the Sunday Chronicle (Manchester, England)



AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN NEUTRALS

"You will learn to love me—when your hunger is sharp enough."

From Nebelspalter (Zurich, Switzerland)



RUSSIAN REVELATIONS

GERMANIA (to Michel): "Don't laugh too loud. Our stable might also be the better for a cleaning out."

From De Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)

WINTER SCENES AT OUR TRAINING CAMPS



© Harris & Ewing

CAMP MEADE (MARYLAND) UNDER A MANTLE OF SNOW BUT WITH PLENTY OF WARMTH INSIDE



© Committee on Public Information
"OVER THE TOP," FROM THE PRACTICE TRENCHES AT A NORTHERN CANTONMENT



© Committee on Public Information

BAYONET INSTRUCTION, COMBINED WITH PRACTICE IN THE ART OF CLIMBING OVER BARBED WIRE

ENTANGLEMENTS.—AN IMPORTANT PHASE OF MODERN TRENCH WARFARE



© Committee on Public Information
AN ASSIGNMENT TO PICKET DUTY. THE "DUG-OUT" IN THE CENTER IS A REST AND RELIEF SHELTER



© Underwood & Underwood

A TRENCH-DIGGING DETAIL AT CAMP DIX



© Western Newspaper Union SINGLE FILE OVER FROZEN ROADS, LONG ISLAND



© Underwood & Underwood
DIGGING TRENCHES AT CAMP DIX (NEW JERSEY)



SHARPSHOOTING AT A NEW ENGLAND CAMP



© Committee on Public Information
STUDYING MACHINE-GUN CONSTRUCTION



© Harris & Ewing

AN EVENING'S REST IN BARRACKS

THE FAILURE OF GERMANY'S SECOND PEACE OFFENSIVE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE MANEUVER

THE past month has seen the collapse of Germany's Second Peace Offensive. Doomed by the exposure of real German purpose at Brest-Litovsk, it was destroyed by the address of President Wilson to Congress, following a similar but far less effective utterance of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, addressed to the

British Labor Congress.

The story of this second German offensive, when it is told in all its details, will prove one of the great romances of modern history. It had its relation to all the military and political events of the past nine months. It supplied the chief interest in innumerable intrigues, secret exchanges of views between statesmen of opposed nations. It was a factor in the Russian Revolution and in American and Allied internal affairs. We shall wait long to know all the details, but they will be worth waiting for.

Meantime the salient circumstances are sufficiently in hand to sketch the situation as it stands. With the collapse of Russia in the early summer, Russia, as I pointed out at the time, ceased to be a military factor, probably for the duration of the struggle. Broken now into innumerable parts, the Russian Empire of last year has become a confused anarchy, out of which we may get ever-changing doctrines and principles, but from which we, the Allies, will receive no more effective aid in the fight

against Germany.

But before Russia had disappeared the Russian Revolution, which controlled an army, with a semblance of cohesion, made the proposal of peace "without annexations and without indemnities," to the warring nations, to the Allies, and to the Central Powers. And before the Russian collapse had given the military power in Germany new strength and new ground for asserting that the war could be won absolutely, the moderate elements in Germany had, in the Reichstag, accepted the Russian formula.

Germany stood, not pledged, because the Reichstag had no power to pledge the nation, but in a way committed to the sort of peace which the mass of people in the Allied countries were willing to discuss, if not to make.

The subsequent Russian collapse removed all hope of an Allied victory in 1917, as the fighting on the West Front showed. The later Italian disaster brought Allied hopes to dust and did much to intensify the gloom in a war-weary world. Russia was out, Italy beaten terribly, and in the face of this situation the German military party, having regained control, was openly and secretly making every possible use of the Russian-Reichstag formula to create the impression that Germany sought only an honorable set tlement.

In this time, there grew up a very real and dangerous demand in Allied countries for a restatement of war aims which should serve to demonstrate to the German people that the Allies sought no imperialistic ends. Even more insistent was the demand that there should be such a statement that Russia might be held in line, for the Russian extremists, now in charge of the Russian Government, indicated a growing suspicion of the Allies and an increasing readiness to negotiate with the Germans.

But no such statement of terms was possible because the Allies, while pursuing no imperialistic aims, were pledged to certain indemnities, notably for Belgium, and to certain annexations, notably the cession to France of her "Lost Provinces" and to Italy of her "Irredenta," and no statement could possibly hold Russia, now dissolved in chaos.

We had then a very real crisis within the Allied countries, particularly acute in France and Britain. It lasted until the moment when the Russians consented to go to Brest-Litovsk and negotiate for peace with their enemies, and their enemies at the conference at last disclosed their real, as contrasted with their pretended, purposes. The crisis came to an abrupt end, when the Bolsheviki, flee-

ing angrily from Brest-Litovsk, exposed to the world the fact that, under the cover of their declaration of no annexations and no indemnities, the Germans were demanding 120,000 square miles of Russian territory, containing upwards of 20,000,000 of people. The territory included all of Russia's Baltic seacoast and would give Germany economic control of the whole of Russia for the future.

Up to this moment no Allied counteroffensive was possible because the Allies
could not match the German lies. They
were not prepared to surrender their claims
to Alsace-Lorraine and the Trentino or to
abandon their demands for indemnity for
Belgium. As long as the stakes in the game
were "scraps of paper," Germany had all
the best of it. Not until she had to tell the
truth was she put in the wrong.

II. THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

But once the truth was apparent the Allies struck hard and successfully. First Lloyd George in an able address to British Labor outlined the Allied purposes, he declared the Allies committed to the liberation of all conquered countries, to the settlement of the claims of Turkish subject nationalities, and to the disposition of colonial questions by general agreement after the war. He declared that Britain would stand with France, to the death, to have the wrong of Alsace-Lorraine reconsidered, and demanded that Italy's legitimate claims upon Italians outside of her boundaries should be settled.

In the matter of Russia, the British Prime Minister was less explicit. He warned the Russians against the Germans, but he also uttered something like a threat when he informed them that if they should make a separate peace the Allies could not help them. In this detail his speech had an unfortunate resemblance to washing his hands of the Russians and leaving them to their own devices. Otherwise the speech was unexceptionable, and was accepted by British Labor, with little reservation.

A few days later, however, President Wilson followed with a new statement of Allied war aims which won instant acceptance in all Allied countries, so far as territorial questions were concerned, and contained far more generous and sympathetic words for Russia. To Belgium and Serbia he gave the familiar assurances, to France he said that the United States would fight until the wrong

of 1871 had been "righted"—a far stronger word than that of Lloyd George, and a word which in the President's mind, all his friends assert, meant the restoration of the "lost provinces." For the Poles the President had words of encouragement and assurance. For the first time an American President committed his country to an European struggle and indicated European issues in which the country had a concern.

Now the exact value of these two addresses was this: It put the Germans at once on the defensive at home and in the world, so far as peace was concerned. It relieved the Allies from all inconvenience due to ignorant misunderstanding at home of the things for which they were fighting. While the Germans were demanding vast territories and great populations to which they had not the remotest claim in law or justice, the Allies were revealed as asking only minor changes which could be supported on the ground of right and justice, even to the least well-informed elements in their publics.

Above all it was proven that the Allies were not responsible for the prolongation of the struggle, that the responsibility rested with the Central Powers, who were in fact, despite their pretensions, seeking greater territorial aggrandizement than Napoleon had sought after any victorious campaign. Millions of people in the Allied countries had, partly through weariness, partly through misunderstanding, come to believe that the Germans were really willing to make an honorable and just peace and were prevented by obstinate or blind Allied statesmen. But the blame was no longer to be charged to any but the Germans.

The result was instantaneously apparent. In all Allied nations the people settled down to another year of war. Doubt and hesitation were silenced. It was recognized that the war had to be continued as long as Germany was in her present mood, or the war party was in control in Germany and dictated German policy. President Wilson's speech destroyed the German peace offensive

in all Allied countries.

By contrast there promptly broke out in Germany a new agitation. The liberal and socialistic elements began to denounce the militaristic party and its Brest-Litovsk program of annexation. It is possible to exaggerate the importance of this agitation. It did not, so far as is now visible, shake the control of the soldier and the Junker, but it was not less real and it was going on in

Germany, not in Allied countries. In a word, the domestic disorder which had been discoverable in Britain, France, and even in a measure in this country, disorder of the moral, not the physical, sort, was now transferred to Germany, where more and more people denounced the government and the ruling caste as really responsible for the pro-

longation of the struggle.

This is the situation as I write. It must not be exaggerated. It is unlikely to shake the militaristic control. It is even less likely to lead to revolution, but it will, nevertheless, have a continuing influence and a very real influence if the next German military offensive fails. Before they make a final bid for success on the battlefield the German leaders have been, in a sense, undermined at home. This will not injure them if they win a great victory, but it may ruin them if they lose another Marne or Verdun.

In sum, Germany, precisely as she did a year earlier and under equally advantageous circumstances, embarked upon a peace offensive, not with any sincere desire to bring peace, not with any willingness to make the concessions necessary to gain peace, above all not with any idea of abandoning grandiose annexation schemes, but with the purpose of breaking down the morale of the civilian and military populations of her foes. Temporarily she had some success, just as temporarily she gained ground at Verdun, but in the end she was completely repulsed and put on the defensive at home and abroad.

Germany had expected to fight another military campaign in any event. Her rulers were not deluded into believing the Allies would surrender what they were determined must be surrendered, but she expected just this, that while her enemies were divided and shaken over peace debates, she would level one more tremendous military attack, and this attack, gaining ground and advantages at the outset, as all such attacks are bound to do, would insure peace before it was permanently checked. It was a brilliant and thoroughly Teutonic scheme, but it failed, because the Germans were not clever enough to make even transient concessions at Brest-They could not make up their minds, even for a moment and for the effect it would have in the world, to let go of any of their conquests. At the critical moment, therefore, they had to lay aside the mask and the result was utter rout.

I have dealt with these purely political events at this length only because in this case

the political has a direct relation to the military. Germany attacked Italy a few months ago at the precise moment when the Italians were shaken by the Pope's peace offer and their temporary intellectual and moral disorder weakened them. She hoped to do the same thing on the western front and she only missed doing it by a narrow margin. But she failed. In a sense this peace maneuver was as purely a military thing as artillery preparation or the emission of gas before an assault at the front. It is in that light that I have discussed it, without attempting to analyze the details of the various addresses, which will be far more competently dealt with elsewhere in this magazine. But I desire to emphasize for my readers how skillfully Germany uses political weapons for military effect.

III. BREST-LITOVSK

Turning now to the actual negotiations of Brest-Litovsk, I desire to warn my readers in advance against regarding the results of these exchanges as having any military value. Russia is out of the war. A certain number of German and Austrian troops will have to be maintained in the East to garrison the occupied districts. Even if the Russians should refuse to make peace this number of troops would not have to be increased, because the Russian army has ceased to exist as a force and a factor. Germany and Austria will have to police the Russian districts they have conquered—police them very heavily, since the populations are hostile, but nothing that happens in the peace conference, so far as one can see, will change the situation.

We shall do well to cease to regard Russia one day with hope and the next in despair. Russia is out and that is all there is about it. A separate peace might end in giving Germany a good deal of food next summer, if communications could be restored by that time, which is excessively unlikely, given present Russian anarchy, but, granted that Germany may gain some material aid for her fight against the West, if she gets peace in the East, it cannot come soon, while neither more war nor immediate peace can offer her any change in burdens on the East Front.

What, then, does Brest-Litovsk mean? Just this: The Germans went there with the hope of using the Russian Revolutionists as catspaws in their general scheme of a peace offensive. They hoped to take the Russian Reds into camp, persuade them to make a

separate peace and to become peace agents in the Allied countries, working among the same element in the Allied publics. This was the real purpose of Brest-Litovsk and when it was not realized Brest-Litovsk lost all its value and much of its interest for the German leaders.

Unfortunately for them, they could not end it when it ceased to be useful. Their own populations now looked to Brest-Litovsk and discovered that peace was not to be had because of the annexationist plans of their rulers, whereupon their disapproval began to be heard and it became incumbent upon German leadership to find a way out of the mess which should enable them to escape the condemnation of their own public, who ex-

pected peace and wanted it.

It is hard to imagine a more humiliating or intolerable position than that in which German leadership found itself at Brest-Litovsk. It was negotiating with anarchy, itself the champion of autocracy. It was listening to threats and insults from the representatives of a mob, not a nation. It was compelled solemnly to debate with men who had no army and no real force behind them and it was compelled to do all this because it had involved itself in a game, designed to strike at Allied morale, but, as it turned out, destined to affect the morale of its own populations.

German terms at Brest-Litovsk are not interesting as such. Germany is demanding the "war map" and a little more. She is seeking to erect a Baltic state, under her control, in which 250,000 Germans shall rule 5,000,000 Slavs. She is endeavoring to construct a new Poland in which Hapsburg power shall prevail for the present. refuses all evacuation until after the war. She insists upon self-determination of political allegiance by the people, while her armies guard the ballot boxes, and she refuses to let her own Poles share in the same-self-determining process. In a word, all her protestations are shams, covering extreme territorial ambitions.

But what is real at Brest-Litovsk is not the Russian delegation nor the German demands. Actually Brest-Litovsk is interesting because it was the battlefield upon which was fought out the German peace offensive. There it was exposed and routed. There it collapsed with the results I have indicated already. Had the Bolsheviki been knaves, had they been German agents, they would have made peace on German terms. They would have accepted the German protestations at their face value and become willing dupes of German policies. Had they done this, the effect in Allied nations would have been bad, if not disastrous. Thoughtless and war-weary people would have accepted any terms the Bolsheviki accepted on the valuation of the Russians. "If Russia is satisfied," they would have argued, "why not we?" This was the dangerous moment. It has passed. Now Brest-Litovsk is a minor affair and the Germans are in the position of a man who went into the swamp to waylay a foe and got mired. Even with the game gone, they have still to get out.

IV. THE COMING ATTACK

Having outlined the relation of the German Peace Offensive to the military plans (it was, I think, patently intended to prepare the way for military assault by weakening Allied morale), I shall now endeavor to point out what military judgment at home and abroad is concerning the expected German assault.

First of all, the Germans have told us that it was coming. They have affirmed that it would be the greatest blow of the war and they have led their public to believe that a victory was not only possible but assured. Under other circumstances it would be possible to doubt the assertion of the foe. Certainly it will be well to watch events in the Balkans and Italy, as well as Asia Minor. Yet it is clear that only on the West Front can there be a decision and that victory elsewhere will not win the war for the Germans. Hence the probability of a Western offensive.

Actually the Germans will find themselves in February, 1918, in much the situation they were in two years before, when they made their great bid for victory at Verdun. Then they had disposed of the Russians for months. Now they have put Russia out of the war. Then they had cared for Balkan perils by crushing Serbia. Now they have attended to Italian threats for the time being. Then, as now, they were able to transfer troops from East to West and to concentrate their great munitions resources in the West.

In 1916 Germany struck to avoid the blow that was sure to come when Britain was ready. To-day her offensive must anticipate American participation in the war on a great scale, because when America enters in fact Germany will be for all time put on the defensive through inferiority of numbers. Not to win the war before America arrives is to lose the chance of winning it at all, just as not winning it before Britain was ready would have meant not to win it at all, if Russia had stayed in the war.

Russia's collapse restores something of the situation of 1916. Germany has reserves, she has artillery. Her foes in front of her have no decisive advantage of numbers, if they have any. They cannot attack now, because to attack and to fail might lead to disaster, while to wait is to be assured of American help. If Germany, by striking, breaks France, then Italy will be easily put out of the war and Britain and America will be left to fight the thing out. This would not mean a victory of supreme proportions, for Britain and America will continue to dominate the seas, but it would mean mastery of the continent and leave Germany as Napoleon was after Friedland or Wagram.

Falling short of a decisive victory, the Germans plainly hope that they will produce such exhaustion in the ranks of their enemies that the foe will consent to talk peace and abandon the task of holding on until America gets ready, since America is sure to be a considerably delayed arrival. These are the two stakes of the German gamble: Decisive success with the mastery of the Continent and the perpetuation of Mitteleuropa, if the assault have the success which was not realized at the Marne or at Verdun; possible peace by negotiation on reasonably satisfactory terms, if the assault makes material but indecisive progress on the field but uses up the moral and material resources of the French and brings them to a willingness to make peace before America is ready.

Similarly the program has obvious perils. An attack which does not bring victory fairly speedily, an attack which becomes another Verdun, after the first few days, will unquestionably awaken protest at home, just as Verdun did. The military leaders have told a war-weary public that they can win the war if they are permitted one more try. The people have been partly persuaded and partly dragooned into giving their consent to the campaign. But it will be watched with suspicion and if it does not produce rapid results it may lead to a change of popular sentiment and a far more serious crisis than Germany experienced just before Russia collapsed last year.

Germany has her chance to win the war

again. It is not as good as the chance she had at the Marne. It is not nearly as good as the chance she had at Verdun, but it is a chance. She is, in all human probability, planning to take it and to make the greatest military venture of human history, as great in this world war as was Napoleon's campaign to Moscow, in his day. And Moscow had similar stakes. Germany can attack, she must attack, but to attack and fail means approximate ruin.

V. FRANCE OR BRITAIN?

Will Germany attack the British line or the French? On this point British and Frenchwriters are agreed. Conceivably Germany will attack on both fronts, as Haig and Nivelle made joint attacks last spring, but even in this case all agree that the weight of the blow will fall on France.

The reasons are simple. Britain has had heavy losses. Her man-power is beginning to feel the strain, but she has had no such test and loss as France, and her numbers are not actually declining, as are the French. She can still repair great wastage. It is doubtful if the French can. Since German losses are far greater in proportion, as well as in aggregate, than the British, to attack Britain would be to attack a relatively fresh opponent, who, in any event, would emerge from the war with less serious losses. And since Britain's losses are smaller than France's, the strain on the civil population is less and the chance of a break in morale behind the lines smaller.

Germany will attack France in 1918, as she did in 1916, most observers assert, because she believes France is bled white, because she sees in political disturbances within France signs of a breakdown. Granted that the French army might hold, as it always has so far, and its morale was concededly as high as ever in the recent Battle of Malmaison on the Aisne, the Germans calculate that the nerve of the politicians behind might crumble.

It is all very simple, very brutal, and very German. You select the weaker antagonist and you beat him up. France, by reason of her resistance and her sacrifices, because she has been invaded and ravaged, is weaker than Britain and therefore the German is selecting France and will attack the French lines. He has always believed the French a decadent people. He has never ceased to murmur "poor France" since the war began. Not

even the Marne nor Verdun have shaken this original view and he is planning to prove it to be correct this time, having proven it false in 1914 and 1916.

Now granted that the Germans attack the French, the British will have to attack the Germans. Sir Douglas Haig offered to do this in 1916 at the Verdun time and Joffre declined the aid proferred because the British army was unready. It is ready now, but it will have to attack under the compulsion of the foe and when he is expecting the attack and ready for it. We had just such another campaign when the Germans were standing on the defensive in the West and beating the Russians to pieces on the East in the spring. summer, and autumn of 1915. Then both the French and the British attacked, first in Artois, about Lens and Arras, and later in . both Artois and Champagne in the memorable offensive of September 25. They failed both times and Russia fell, while Serbia was annihilated.

But a year later, after the Verdun campaign had been going on for four months, the British, with the French, did attack at the Somme and Germany had to give up her Verdun venture, as the pressure on the Somme increased in August and September, and finally abandon her Verdun gains, when her numbers began to fail in October and in December.

Unfortunately for the Allies, there seems another possibility. We read of constant destruction of French villages behind the German lines facing the British. It would seem that the Germans may be contemplating a withdrawal, a "strategic" retreat like that of last spring, a retreat from before the British as a concomitant of their attack upon the French. Were this to happen British attack for a considerable period would be quite impossible and Britain would have to remain quiescent or send troops to the French front, which involve enormous difficulties of transport, and of munitions.

As to the time the Germans will attack, they struck at Verdun on February 21. The weather was bad and hampered them much, but their necessities were great, for Britain was preparing and was sure to be ready in a few months. But is there such a necessity now? Can we, the United States, be ready in a time so near that Germany will have to shoulder the discomforts of a winter effort, with all its handicaps, to anticipate American intervention? I do not think so. I do not believe the American army will be ready in

great numbers before autumn, perhaps not before the spring of 1919, therefore it seems to me unlikely that Germany will move before March or even April, unless her home situation requires prompter action and an earlier decision. With the Verdun precedent in mind, I cannot believe the Germans will strike again in February unless they are impelled by conditions of which we are not informed.

VI. WHERE WILL THEY STRIKE?

When it comes to a consideration of where on the French front the Germans are likely to strike, one enters the region of pure conjecture. I do not mean to prophesy or to guess, but there are two sectors of the French line which have been indicated to me by French generals as most likely to be subjected to German assault. One is in Champagne, east and west of Rheims, the other is in Lorraine, east and west of the Moselle River and not far from Toul and Nancy.

Looking at the whole French front from the Oise to Switzerland, it will be noted that there are various sectors in which the conditions do not favor an offensive from the German side. This is especially true of the region between the Oise and the eastern end of the Chemin des Dames, where in the recent fighting the French have gained all the high ground. Moreover, when they held only a portion of the high ground in August, they successfully stood off a German assault about Craonne for many days, without losing a foot of ground. Again, just east of Rheims the French hold the Moronvilliers Heights, which Pétain took in the They are a very real obstacle.

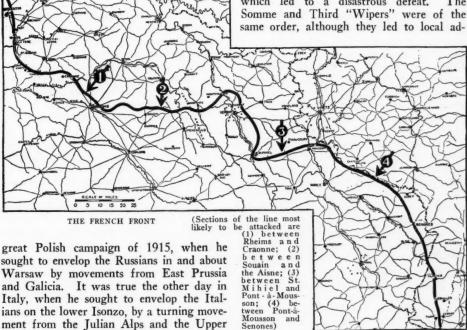
Eastward from the Aisne, north of St. Menehould to St. Mihiel on the Meuse, the French hold strong positions, including all the famous Verdun hills and forts. Finally, the Vosges from Epinal to Belfort are unsuited for any great offensive, because of the military obstacle they constitute, and any push through the Belfort Gap would be of dubious advantage because of the narrowness of the operable front and the proximity of the Swiss frontier. Conceivably the Germans might undertake a limited offensive to clear out the French troops, occupying a few hundred square miles of Alsatian territory about Thann, but this could have no great importance and would mean the waste of men on a minor venture—a thing the Germans avoid as much as possible.

It will be seen that in this review of the French front two sectors have been omitted -that of Champagne, from the Moronvilliers Heights to the Argonne, and that of Lorraine, from St. Mihiel to the Vosges. It is in one of these two sectors that Allied critics expect the great German attack to be made. Their reasoning is this: The German hates a battle on parallel lines and always seeks an enveloping movement, if possible. This was true in 1870, when he succeeded at Sedan. It was true in 1914, when he attempted a double enveloping movement from Belgium and from Alsace-Lorraine and failed at the Marne. It was true in his

of Rheims, they would promptly come in on the rear and communications of the forces on the lines between the point of attack, and capture or destroy them.

And the configuration of the French front admits of such movements at these two fronts. It is even possible that the Germans by a gigantic operation, a double attack, one portion made in the Champagne, west of the Argonne, the other in Lorraine, west of the Moselle, might seek to envelop Verdun. The thing was tried in a way during the Marne campaign and the Germans have made several tries at the same thing since then, but on no large scale,

Verdun was a battle in parallel lines, it was a frontal attack on a narrow front, which led to a disastrous defeat.



ment from the Julian Alps and the Upper Isonzo. He is trying the same thing now, by his movement out of the Trentino and behind the Piave line.

Now the object of these great turning or enveloping movements is to surround and capture an army, or a portion of an army. Sedan is the classical example and because it made such a profound impression upon military minds the world has been looking for a Sedan all through this war. Mere defeat, on the contrary, only leads to retirement and reforming of the line.

But if the Germans were able to deliver two great blows on the French front, north and south of Nancy, or east and just west vances and minor successes, but only at the Dunajec, in 1915, did a frontal attack end in a supreme success and this was due to artillery advantages which the German will not have now in the West.

It is perhaps idle to follow this speculation. But I do know that the best-informed Allied observers expect a German attack either in Lorraine or in Champagne, either about Rheims or Nancy, and that they recognize the possibility of a great enveloping movement intended to surround and isolate Verdun. Success on such proportions might win the war, but it is about the most colossal venture one can imagine and it failed utterly in the Marne campaign, when Germany was far better off than she is to-day.

VII. TRANSFERRING TROOPS FROM EAST TO WEST

It remains to discuss now the transfer of German troops from the East to the West Front, which has attracted general attention in recent weeks. We have had alarmist reports of numbers, ranging as high as a million and a half. We have had more moderate and reasonable estimates of from half to three-quarters of a million as the eventual profit to the West Front of the Russian collapse.

But the movement of masses of men is a long and difficult process and German transport material is in none too good shape. Even were it certain that half of the troops in the East would eventually appear in the West, the transfer would be a matter of months. For the present article I am going to confine myself to the printing of some exceedingly interesting figures, which are French official and have come to me through the courtesy of the French Government.

To start at the beginning, Germany had on the East Front on September 1, 1917, 92 divisions, containing 965 battalions, or approximately a million men. She had on the West Front 147 divisions, containing 1369 battalions, or, roughly speaking, 1,400,000 men. This was an increase of thirteen divisions in the East since July 1 and a decrease of eight on the West Front since the same date, when Germany had 155 divisions, or around a million and a half men on the West Front. At the earlier date she was being attacked by the British in Flanders and was attacking the French at the Chemindes-Dames. There was, then, no movement from East to West between July and September, rather a transfer from West to East.

But on December 11 the German troops on the West Front had risen from 147 to 154 divisions, or approximately 1,500,000 men, while the number of the divisions in the East had fallen to 77, or around 800,000. Seven divisions had also appeared on the Italian front. As I indicated in my last article, the German contingent in Italy was small—less than 70,000, and was not in itself sufficient to have produced the Italian collapse of last fall.

Between September 1 and December 11 fifteen divisions were moved from the East

Front. In the same time fourteen divisions appeared on the west and Italian fronts, presumably the same units.

We have then the transfer of fourteen divisions in approximately three months, but as seven went to Italy the Western Front in mid-December was still weaker than it had been in Iuly.

Now of the 77 divisions, or 800,000 Germans, left in the East what part can be sent west? Certainly not more than half, say 40 divisions. But this is only 400,000 men and there is here no overwhelming addition to the western numbers, which would even then hardly pass the 2,000,0000 mark in actual strength. Beyond this Germany would have to depend on her reserves not at the front, that is, in her home depots, and upon Austrian contributions, but can Austria contribute?

On this point I quote the following French official statement:

"There has been some question of the transfer of Austrian troops to the Franco-British front. Here are some figures about the army of the Emperor Charles.

"In spite of its population of more than 50,000,000, in spite of the fact that the youngest classes have been called up, in spite of the extension of the obligations to military service up to fifty and even fifty-five years, Austria has never had at one time in the war zone more than 820,000 men.

"At the present time Austria has at the front 79 divisions thus stationed: Forty-five on the Italian front, from which it would be exceedingly difficult to move any. Thirty-two on the Russian-Rumanian front, where they must in major part remain to guard Galicia. Two on the Balkan front. The military forces of Austria, therefore, do not make possible any considerable transfer.

"It is true that Austria possesses good artillery. She has about three thousand field and mountain guns, 1000 light pieces and more than 900 heavy guns.

"Austrian assistance (on the West Front) would then consist mainly in artillery sent to this field."

That is the way it seemed, and I believe seems, to the French. Now granted that Germany can bring 400,000 troops from East to West, granted she can improve the quality of divisions in the West by replacing older men by younger men combed out of the eastern armies, and this combing-out process has been going on for weeks, is this number, added to the million and a half al-

ready in the West, calculated to give her a real preponderance? I do not think so.

The British have at least a million men on their part of the line, with large reserves to fill vacancies behind. The French have close to another million with at least one class, 200,000 men, to replace wastage. In other words, the Germans, so far as their East and West fronts are concerned have not enough men available to give them any real numerical advantage. Have they the troops behind? This is exceedingly unlikely, given what we know of their promptness in calling up and using the younger classes. They are always at least one year ahead of the French in this respect.

Therefore, if the United States could have 500,000 men ready to fight next May, these would give the Allies a decisive advantage in the West. They will not have such a force ready and therefore the numbers will be approximately equal. Accordingly, Germany can attack, since her foes will not atcack, pending the arrival of the Americans on the line. Thanks to Austria, thanks to her great captures of Russian artillery in the summer and Italian in the fall, with huge

stocks of munitions, Germany may have an advantage in guns. This possession of superior artillery did not get her Verdun, nor win for her at First Ypres. The Allies will certainly be able to make great counter concentrations, if the first German flood be checked.

On the foregoing statement of the situation it seems to me that all belief that Germany is to have overwhelming advantage in numbers, is idle. On the contrary, but for the transfer of French and British troops to Italy, she would probably be slightly outnumbered, as she surely will be when any large American force gets up. Her chance, her advantage, it would appear, lies rather in artillery. She probably will have more guns, possibly more munitions. These are a great factor, of course. They might prove decisive, but they didn't at Verdun. much for numbers and the transfer of troops from East to West. All told, Germany has now at most 2,500,000 men on all fronts. In the West she can hardly have more than 2,000,000 present and eventually available, while her foes certainly have 2,000,000 men now on the line.



C Underwood & Underwood

OCEANS OF HAMPERING MUD ON THE WESTERN FRONT

(This British official photo shows a heavy load drawn by a team of horses stuck in the mud despite the wooden road built to offset just such contingencies)

UNCLE SAM TAKES THE RAILROADS

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

BETWEEN the morning of one day (December 27) and noon of the next (December 27) and noon of the next (December 28) the President of the United States issued a proclamation and took over the "control and possession" of the transportation systems of the country under the act of Congress of August, 1916. Of all his measures concerning property none has been so swiftly carried into effect and none compasses such proportions as this, involving as it does the supervision of approximately 260,000 miles of single track, an investment of over \$16,000,000,000, and the employment of 1,700,000 individuals. It is interesting to see how closely the property valuation fits the nation's first year war budget, while the army of railroad workers compares with the total number of enlisted and draft men now in the field and training. What had happened at the end of last

December making this act imperative?

Corporations at the End of Their Rope

The answer is supplied by President Wilson, who, in addressing Congress on January 4, said: "Transportation supplies all the arteries of mobilization. Unless it be under a single and unified direction, the whole process of the nation's action is embarrassed." The substitute, in the form of a Railroads' War Board, had been tried for nine months and found wanting in the maximum production of transportation. "If," said the President, "I have taken the task out of their hands, it has not been because of any dereliction or failure on their part, but only because there were some things which the Government can do and private management cannot."

When the railroads were commandeered by the Government they had about reached the limit of their ability to lift the freight iam without ignoring laws covering pooling of revenues and the Sherman anti-trust act; they were still naturally jealous of their individual positions of strategy of location; they were loath to abandon service which they had developed after years of investment

and solicitation; they were tied in a knot by Government priority of shipment; they could not raise additional capital for equipment, as their securities had depreciated nearly two billions of dollars in value within a year, and a serious labor crisis faced them. They had lost 70,000 men to the Army and Navy; the effectiveness of many of those remaining had been impaired by constant shifting from one point to another. The labor turn-over in some departments was 500 per cent.; in others 700 and 800 per cent. In the eastern district not enough motive power was available for the traffic. At the port of New York alone there were 150 vessels waiting for bunker coal. The entire East Atlantic Coast was threatened with a coal famine. Iron and steel plants were operating only at 50 per cent, of capacity. Schools and churches were closing; the poor were dying in rooms of Arctic temperature, Again, to quote the President, "a great national necessity dictated the action, and I was therefore not at liberty to abstain from it."

Secretary McAdoo as Director-General

Whether or not the plan would succeed depended on the quality of the man to whom the office of Director-General of Railroads was given. It had been apparent for some time that if "control and possession" should be claimed, William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, would be asked to look after the functioning of the carriers under Federal auspices. In finally selecting him, President Wilson recited his qualifications in the following language: "His practical experience peculiarly fits him for the service and his authority as Secretary of the Treasury will enable him to coordinate as no other man could the many financial interests which will be involved and which might, unless systematically directed, suffer very embarrassing entanglements."

There was another fitness which was obvious, but which was not mentioned. transportation crisis called for courage and imagination and some disrespect for old traditions. It also required the ability to organize—executive talent, it is called. There was probably no man available who combined these qualities in greater degree than Mr. McAdoo, and who, in addition, had been trained in transportation as a profession and then had entered the public service in the capacity of financial adviser to the Government.

His courage was at once exhibited in the seizing for common usage of such private facilities as the Pennsylvania Railroad tunnels under the North and East Rivers; in orders to annul nearly 300 passenger trains in the eastern district when travel was fully 10 per cent, greater than ever before known, and in heavily penalizing the shipper who held freight in cars over forty-eight hours. His executive ability was shown in the immediate selection of a board of assistants to deal with each phase of the situation, on which Alfred H. Smith, president of the New York Central; and probably as good an operating official as the country has, is the director of traffic. John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, is to devote his time to the questions of finance. Matters of supply of cars, the compilation of statistics of earnings as a basis of compensation and the legal questions involved in this great undertaking were assigned to experts.

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Director-General of Railroads has great capacity for assuming new responsibilities, but does not destroy his essential value to the Government by accepting the details of ad-This is usually the mark of ministration, a good executive and leader. The only criticism heard of his appointment was from certain members of Congress. They claimed that he could not do justice to his duties as Secretary of the Treasury, member ex-officio of the Federal Reserve Board, and director of the Farm Loan Bank, at a time when financial administration called for such concentrated effort. But they were really more concerned with the additional power vested in this preferred Cabinet member than in the possibility of overworking him.

Mr. McAdoo craves power. This is well known. There are broad suggestions that he is a Presidential candidate and is laying the foundation for support in 1920 through generous political patronage. This may or may not be true. The thing most obvious is that whoever leads in this national crisis; whoever shows courage and a wisdom to dis-

entangle problems of industry or finance; whoever deals fairly and capably with small or large units of men, will not fail of political favor after the war, if he wants it.

Note, however, that Mr. McAdoo does not follow the crowd. He forms his own conclusions and fashions his own judgments. He believed that the American public would subscribe to a 3½ per cent. bond when the composite opinion of American bankers was to the contrary. He looked more on the factor of patriotism as an incentive than did they. He can take the bit in his teeth and go against the current as he had to do many times in the early days of the war, when demands came pressing both from home and abroad. And he can change his mind when he discovers a mistake of policy or of judgment.

Mr. McAdoo's Experience in the Transportation Field

Currently, railroads take priority in Mr. McAdoo's official life over Government finances, so he is just now known more as Director-General than as Secretary of the Treasury. The best modern combination of railroad executive has been the man with a legal training and some operating experience. The Director-General had both. Born in Georgia in the mid-period of the Civil War, he gained by hard knocks the elements of grit, of nerve, shrewdness and resourcefulness that have carried him through many contests into which he entered with the odds against him. He has been frank to say that the trail of fire that General Sherman left behind on his march to the sea had the best kind of reaction on his character for it created hardships of living under which "the individual developed every resource and every power with which nature had endowed him, in order to live." He was educated at the University of Tennessee, left to study law in Knoxville, supporting himself meanwhile from a deputy clerkship in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern Division. In 1884 he was admitted to the bar, and practised law in Chattanooga for eight years. Then he went to New York.

There is greater continuity in the professional development of the Director-General than in most public men's lives. The big thing with which he is now grappling is transportation. It was transportation, in the form of a decrepit traction line in Knoxville, Tenn., over which he had his first battle, and in which he came off victor. This road

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was nearly down and out. The Director-General assumed its management, fought off-receiverships, and finally, delivered it sound to its owners. Later he learned transportation from another angle—as counsel for the Richmond & Danville Railroad, a part of the

present Southern Railway system.

Problems of urban transportation greatly interested him. After he came to New York he found that under the North River was a partially completed tunnel between the Jersey shore and the metropolis. Considerable money had literally been sunk in the venture. Mr. McAdoo saw its possibilities. He went to A. J. Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and by his enthusiasm and persistence completed a traffic interchange arrangement which made the financing of the tunnel possible. He first borrowed \$4,000,000, and eventually saw his scheme expand into a \$70,-000,000 proposition, of which the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad Company and the Hudson Terminal buildings were the two main This work was completed in 1909.

Constructive Work in the Treasury Department

In 1913 Mr. McAdoo was asked by President Wilson to become his Secretary of the Treasury. The constructive work done in this office in framing and placing in operation the Federal Reserve Bank and in effecting a change of taxation to cover the new system of taxes on incomes and later on excess profits now seem to have been destined as a part of the education for the financial problems which naturally merge in the joint offices of Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of Railroads.

What Will Happen to the Roads?

The scope of the operations of the Director-General of Railroads is suggested by the fact that his jurisdiction covers six times the mileage of any other country. A comparison of the figures, with the percentage of state-owned and operated roads in Europe, follows:

Mi	Owned or operated by the state
United States 257,	000
Russia 43,	500 75 per cent
Germany 36,	
France 30,6	
Great Britain 23,3	387
Austria 13,5	373 75 per cent
Hungary 12,5	562 85 per cent
Italy 10,3	800 82 per cent
Switzerland 3,1	130 100 per cent

To-day Canada has approximately 35,000 miles of railways in operation, of which 2000 miles are directly owned by the Dominion. In part of the new mileage representing the two transcontinental lines there is a large government investment of money, but no direct government management.

Among the provisions of the so-called administration bill under which Mr. McAdoo will act are guarantees of income during the period of Federal control at an annual rate equivalent to the average net railway operating income for the three years ending June

30, 1917.

In his message to Congress on the railway situation, delivered January 4, President Wilson said: "Indeed, one of the strong arguments for assuming control of the railroads at this time is the financial argument." It took time to impress the paramountcy of the credit situation on the Administration, but when this was appreciated it went generously to the remedy. The future of Government loans was bound up in the support of railway securities, held to the extent of \$10,000,000,000 to \$11,000,000,000 by small investors, national banks, savings banks and insurance companies.

The phrase "average net railway operating income" means the amount remaining from gross earnings after the expenses of operation, including maintenance, taxes, and hire of equipment are deducted. The percentage of such income is based on the "property cost." For instance, the average property investment for the three years taken as the standard and for the three districts into which the railway territory of the United States is divided, and the operating income and return per cent, were as follows:

Net Oper-Rate Return ating Property Investment Income Per cent. \$355,402,491 Eastern \$6,798,489,504 5.23 401,072,993 Western 7,804,087,319 5.14 1,994,968,353 109,739,400 Southern ... 5.50 All roads...\$16,597,545,176 \$866,214,884

What the individual road may expect, if the Government guarantee goes through Congress, is indicated in the following examples taken from typical properties:

	Rate of Return Per cent.			Average for	
	1917	1916	1915	Three Years	
Pennsylvania	5.37	6.58	4.45	5.48	
Baltimore & Ohio	4.65	4.95	4.28	4.63	
Erie	2.88	4.86	2.97	3.57	
New Haven	6.31	6.11	5.60	6.01	

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	Rate of Return Per cent.			Average fo	
	1917	1916	1915	Three Year	
N. Y. Central	6.82	7.31	4.72	6.09	
Atchison	7.02	6.30	5.13	6.16	
Rock Island	5.86	4.75	3.52	4.72	
Northern Pacific	7.17	6.70	4.93	6.27	
Union Pacific	7.67	7.16	5.31	6.72	

For purposes of illustration, it may be assumed that the total of stocks and bonds outstanding represent the property investment. A road, say the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, has its capital about equally divided between bonds, on which it pays 4 per cent. interest, and stock on which the average of the common and preferred is about 51/2 per cent. The average paid on all capital would be between 434 and 5 per cent., against which the average earned in the three years was about 5½ per cent. The Erie has, roughly, \$450,000,000 of capitalization, but of this \$170,000,000 represents non-dividend-paying stock. The bulk of the bonds bear 4 per cent, interest. The average return of 3.57 per cent, for the three years, if guaranteed, would permit the continuance of interest payments which could not have been continued if the 1917 earnings of 2.88 per cent, had had to be carried into the present year. The chief objection to the plan is that many systems suffered heavy losses in gross earnings in the period from August, 1914, to June, 1915, and the low return on property investment then makes the three-This particularly afvear average unfair. fects the southern lines, whose traffic was greatly curtailed on account of the total stoppage in cotton exports and the low price of the staple.

The British System

For some time before the President made his proclamation there had been a leaning toward the British system of government control and guarantees during the war period, and, as the shrinkage in securities went on, emphasis was more and more placed on the application of this plan to the American railroads.

In studying the British system in its relation to conditions in this country it should be remembered that, both in the amount of mileage administered and in the separate entities to be dealt with, there is quite a different problem. In Great Britain the mileage is 20,300, compared with about 260,000 miles here. Of this amount only 15,160 miles were subject to the first arrangements entered into in August, 1914, between the

English Government and the Committee of General Managers. Later, or in January, 1917, Irish roads with a mileage of 3500 miles went under the act. Again, the individual properties taken over were limited in number to between twelve and fifteen, whereas in the United States there are fifty large systems, each one of which is, in extent, equal to or four or five times longer than any one of the dozen or so English carriers, and there are nearly seven hundred separate railroad corporations in addition that have to be supervised. This, obviously, makes the administration much more difficult for the Director-General and his staff than for the Committee of General Managers, who can go from end to end of any one of their lines within twelve hours.

The first provision for taking over the railroads of Great Britain "in an emergency" came in the act of July 30, 1842. This provided for a better regulation of railways, and for the conveyance of troops, and it made mandatory on directors of any railway the movement of officers and soldiers, together with baggage, arms, and ammunition "at such prices or upon such conditions as may, from time to time, be contracted for between the Secretary of War and such railway companies." In 1844, the act was extended so as to specify the maximum rates under which officers, soldiers, military baggage and stores should be conveyed.

The act of 1871, entitled "Power of Government on Occasion of Emergency to Take Possession of Railroads," empowered the Secretary of State to take possession of railroads and railroad plants.

Railroad labor in Great Britain has always been paid at fairly good rates relative to other wage scales in the United Kingdom, but low in comparison, of course, with the United States. One of the first problems that the Committee of General Managers had to deal with was that of the compensation of the 600,000 odd members of the various railway organizations. In this, and in subsequent dealings, there have been measures taken to meet the rising cost of living through a series of bonuses, the first of which was two shillings per week. As the cost of food, rents, clothing, etc., rose there was a progressively rapid upward tendency in the size of the amounts demanded in the form of extra compensation, until now all men and boys over eighteen years of age are getting 21 shillings per week in excess of their pay in the pre-war period.

Owing to the fact that nearly 25 per cent. of British railway men went to the colors, it has been necessary to draft into the service boys, girls, and women. They, too, have come within the scope of the bonus system, and in the last arrangement made between the government and the employees the bonus to boys was raised to 10 shillings sixpence a week; to women 8 shillings sixpence, and to girls 4 shillings and threepence. It has been estimated that the total increase in compensation over that of July, 1914, amounts to \$165,000,000, or the equal of the dividends paid on all English railway stocks in 1913. This seems to combat the claim made here recently to the effect that the English Government was profiting from the railroad arrangement, consequently the United States ought to be able to draw into its treasury a tidy sum each year after it had paid the proposed guarantees.

The question of settlement with labor was one of the first that came before Director-General McAdoo after he assumed office, for there was pending a demand from the men for increases from the carriers ranging from 25 to 40 per cent.

How Long Will Government Control Continue?

The section of the House and Senate bills that has been made the subject of most criticism and around which the fight in Congress will center is the final one, reading "that the Federal control of transportation systems herein and heretofore provided for shall continue for and during the period of the war and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise." The British act does not permit the indefinite continuance of control and must be renewed weekly.

The phrase "and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise" leaves the matter of control indeterminate. Those who are against permanent Government ownership say that if there is no time limit set the United States may be able to assume perpetual control, and they have been demanding the insertion of a clause limiting control after peace is signed to six months or a year, a period sufficient to readapt the railroads to their former state.

The subject of Government ownership of the railroads of the United States has been in the air for the past twenty years. It was advocated with no more or no less emphasis in 1914 than it was in 1904. American thought did not go into the subject a

great deal even after a demonstration of the practicability of state control of carriers in war time had been given in all of the warring nations of Europe. It was to avert Government ownership that the railroads organized their War Board last April. It has been evident, however, to those who have been watching the situation, that state possession of all agencies of transportation was certain to come while we were at war. Now that temporary possession has been taken it is very doubtful if either the Government or the people will be willing to turn back the railroads to the management of their present owners. Without a war there never could have been a test of the relative merits, from the standpoint of service, as between private and Government ownership, except as precedents were taken from other countries whose conditions as to size, density of traffic, political traditions, and rate structures were quite apart from those of the United States. It had been proven that in a crisis the American railroads had reached the point where limitations as to laws and authority over another's property had produced an impasse. The authority of the Government vested in the hands of one individual of courage and strong will was essential to work out the problems of congestion and to place the element of service over that of individual profit. This authority was given. Now as to the ultimate effect.

It is not fair to say that the transportation system of the United States had "broken down." As I indicated in the January Review of Reviews, there was almost no difficulty in the territory west of the Mississippi River. In fact, facilities there were not being employed to their capacity; were being used subnormally in consequence of the desire to move business to the Atlantic ports. While these points of exports were clogged, very little business was going out through New Orleans and Galveston. The latter, with a track capacity for about 13,000 cars, had, early in the year, less than twenty cars, while New Orleans was working about 30 per cent, of maximum ability.

The idea had, however, gone out that the railroads were making a poor exhibition; and when industries are closing for lack of coal and the householder who has had plenty before finds himself limited to a bucketful, he is quick to place blame and to repeat the popular cry of "inefficiency." The level from which the Government started to operate the roads was, therefore, to the man in

the street, a low one. Any lifting of this average will be placed to the credit of the Government. With all of the advantages of cutting cross lots in the matter of laws, competitive service, the common use of facilities formerly of a monopolistic nature,

eliminating the less essential and concentrating on the most essential traffic, with a desire on the part of the entire railroad staff to make the transportation agency qualify in the highest degree as a factor in winning the war, the odds are very much on the side of a better rather than a poorer set of conditions than under the former auspices. There will be less service that appeals to the comfort of the traveler, but more that tends to relieve industrial and individual distress and that contributes to the quick despatch of loaded ships abroad.

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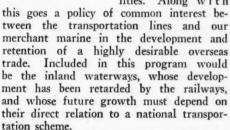
arrangement could not have been made under conditions more difficult than those which were imposed by the weather in the last week of December or the first half of January. Temperatures lower than the average for twenty years were registered in the East, and for half a century in the West. Rivers were blocked with ice; snowdrifts many feet high impeded traffic between Pittsburgh and Chicago and led to absolute cessation of traffic for nearly forty-eight hours. It was only by radical measures that trains moved at all. If the conditions were bad under Government supervision, it is easy to surmise what they might have been under the former order of things.

There is another factor, too, in this question of ultimate ownership. Clearly we have reached a point where the regulating bodies are opposed to increasing railroad rates. It will be of no advantage to the

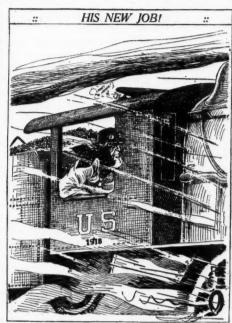
present owners to get back their properties at the end of the war if they are to face conditions such as have, year by year, reduced their credit and brought the annual additions of new facilities to the lowest during this generation. It will be some time after

peace comes that prices of commodities and of all labor fall back where the 1917 railroad freight rate in Eastern territory can absorb them.

Again, war has demonstrated the necessity for some thousand miles of purely strategic lines in the United States, probably running north and south, or along frontiers. These would be expensive to build and quite without commercial value. Still further, the only apparent solution of the terminal question without the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, is in the nationalization of these existing facilities. Along with



The rebound in all securities after the announcement of the proposed guarantee was sufficient evidence that investors felt they had been lifted out of their slough of despond. It is a very grave question whether, unless they are allowed a modification of pre-war conditions, they will wish to return to the old condition of uncertainty as to interest and dividends, preferring a fair price for their properties to limited opportunity for profit under excessive rate regulation.



From the Constitution (Atlanta, Ga.)

SUBMARINES AND COAL

HOW FUEL FAMINE IN NEW YORK WAS PRODUCED BY GERMANY

BY HARRINGTON EMERSON

HERE was very severe cold weather in New York at the end of the year 1917. There was also a severe coal shortage which made the cold much more of a calamity. This coal shortage was indirectly caused by the German U-boats, even as the food shortage in Germany is caused by the Allied blockade.

In what way were the German U-boats

the cause of the coal shortage?

The great supplies of coal for the Atlantic States come from the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania and of West Virginia. These coal fields are the best and largest worked fields in the whole world. have not only built up great centers of industry, but they have also been responsible for the building of great railroads, which carry this coal west, north to the Great Lakes, south to the Southern Atlantic seaboard, but principally east, to the great centers of manufacture and population. The number of these roads, and the extent to which their east-bound tonnage consists of coal, is realized by few. There are seven great roads tapping the bituminous fields and carrying the coal oceanward: the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Western Maryland, the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Norfolk & Western, the Virginian and the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio.

The coal tonnage of these roads runs from 85 per cent. of their total traffic down.

These roads carry the coal to tidewater at Newport News, at Baltimore, at Philadelphia, at New York. The large coal docks are marvels of modern ingenuity. A whole car will be lifted bodily, be turned upside down, emptied and sent hurtling down an incline in a few minutes. Barges and steam-

ers, taking from the great bunkers are loaded in a few hours. The steamers go on their way; a string of barges is taken in tow by ocean-going tugs bound for northern cities, Greater New York, all along the Sound and up the New England coast as far north as Maine. At these cities there are large receiving docks into which the barge coal is rapidly unloaded, reloaded into coal cars and drays, and distributed by a short inland haul all over New England or to ocean-going vessels.

Ocean Tugs to Convoy Merchantmen

When the U-boats began their career of frightfulness, like wolves striking in the dark, they lay in wait for single unsuspecting and mostly unarmed vessels. The toll was heavy. The Germans exulted, and with that fatuousness which has all along marked their psychology, they seemed to think that merchantmen would remain sheep for their wolves. Their whole system of government in schools and in world matters is to label something "Verboten" and then visit frightful punishment on him who fails to conform.

They expected that their war zone would be observed, they expected that the treatment of Captain Fryatt would deter all merchantmen from resisting U-boat attacks, they expected that U-boats would be permitted to rise to the surface and sink by gun-fire helpless ships. They sent over the Deutschland and the U-53 to frighten us. They did not conceive that methods would be found of combating the U-boats. They had willed it otherwise! They were so certain of their own game that they could not conceive of any counter move. They are still consoling themselves for the loss of the battle of the Marne by the theory that the

French acted against the rules of strategy.

Their German fury was unbounded when merchantmen began to arm, and their rage was

	FREIGHT CAPACITY, 1914					
	No. Total cars Owned	Tons Total Capacity	No. coal cars Owned	Tons Capacity of coal cars		
The Pennsylvania		7,221,612		4,763,928	66.0	
The Baltimore & Ohio		3,669,550		2,505,705	68.3	
The Western Maryland	9,116	411,675	7,166	335,140	81.0	
The Chesapeake & Ohio	44,055	1,993,190	33,542	1.645,775	82.5	
The Norfolk & Western	47,483	2,308,390	35,769	1,878,965	81.5	
The Virginian	7,196	345,230	5,792	289,085	83.8	
The Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio	5,251	241,070	4,080	204,000	85.0	

natural, for armed merchantmen meant destruction of submarines. A destroyer hastened to the spot whence the torpedo came and dropped the dreadful depth bomb which might indeed lift the destroyer half out of the water, but which also crushed in the weak shell of the U-boat, put it forever out of commission.

All explosives generate an enormous amount of gas. High explosives generate an extra volume of gas; a cubic inch of water expands into a cubic foot of steam at atmospheric pressure. This is 1,728 times the volume of the water. When a depth bomb is exploded under water, the gas causes enormous pressure in all directions. What gives way? The water between the bomb and the surface is pushed upward, is thrown into the air until the gas can escape. But if a submarine is nearer to the exploding bomb than is the surface, it is the shell of the boat which has to stand the fearful and sudden pressure. It yields; it may crush like an egg-shell, or perhaps the plates start and the air in the U-boat escapes, water fills it, and it sinks. We all remember how, last spring, the U-boats used to rise, train their 3-inch and 6-inch guns on their victims and either use no torpedoes or complete by gun-fire the destruction begun by torpedoes. For a while they had an easy time. Time and time again one torpedo was not enough.

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Then the convoy system began. Vessels no longer browsed over the sea like silly sheep, the prey of every wolf, but they were herded by the swift destroyers. The U-boat, even if it found itself in the path of a convoy, no longer dared rise. From a less conspicuous periscope it had to risk a single torpedo shot, then dive as fast as possible. Even if the vessel was struck it was often only crippled, propeller damaged, engine stopped or some compartment leaking. It was perceived that if these cripples could be towed to port they and their freight would

be saved.

We are now getting nearer to the cause of the coal shortage in New York. To tow the cripples to port ocean tugs were needed. Ocean tugs called from our Atlantic coast became part of the convoy. We have all heard much of the necessity of building ships fast and well, but the ocean tug saved ships already built, loaded, and near the other side. Every tug was worth a whole shipyard, because, as we have found out, it takes years to build an ocean-going freighter, but it only takes weeks to repair and make seaworthy

the maliciously and stupidly and ineptly damaged German ocean monsters in our harbors.

In this matter of repaired ships it was again to laugh that the Germans could not conceive that our ingenuity, our acetylene and electric weldings, would repair their cracks.

Perhaps, however, we also were somewhat short-sighted in not at once building ocean tugs. I remember some tugs turned out in ninety days at one of the New England ship yards. Ocean tugs in great numbers would have proved more useful over there and here at home than the boats whose launching is still far distant.

So to save crippled ships, our American ocean tugs were called to the other side; they became part of the convoys; they were the stretcher-bearers of the sea. Vessel after vessel was saved; U-boat losses were diminished week by week.

Diverting Coast Coal to Railroads

But what became of the ocean coal trade? It was diverted to the already heavily congested railroads. Coal had to be carried over long rail hauls to distant cities. Terminals became congested and loaded coal cars blocked all the sidings. It took far more cars over longer hauls.

The coal situation was aggravated by other troubles. The high price of coal caused many banks or surface mines to be opened and each owner clamored for coal cars. The number of sidings to which coal cars, if only one, had to be delivered daily doubled on some of the coal roads, but this did not mean more coal; it meant slower loading. Strikes occurred and, as is always the case, suddenly increased wages led to curtailment of output. The quantity of coal per miner declined. Supplies of coal had not been laid in last summer. Then came the early and intense cold.

Already congested with east-bound freight for export, food, munitions, the railroads tried to assume along the Atlantic coast the enormous coal tonnage which formerly went by water. It was not a fall-down in regular traffic; it was inability to cope with an abnormal situation caused by the shortage of ocean tugs on this coast.

Thus were the German U-boats the cause of our discomfort. They will rejoice that it is so, but we rejoice that if we have been inconvenienced, it is because our tugs are helping overcome the U-boat menace which was to bring the world to its knees before Germany, last summer.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST PORT

[The effective use for America and for our troops and the allied cause of the Port of New York is just now the most vital single problem in the field of world transportation. At our request, Governor Whitman, of New York, and Governor Edge, of New Jersey, both of whom are taking a great part in the plans for port improvement, have made statements for the Review of Reviews which follow herewith. The chief port executive under the Government is Mr. Irving Bush, and he has also responded to a similar request in the interest of our readers.—The Editor.]

I.—THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

BY THE HON. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK



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GOVERNOR WHITMAN, OF NEW YORK

HE necessity for the establishment of a definite port policy and plan for the future is most graphically demonstrated in the present congestion of the commerce of the Port of New York. While the necessity for commandeering by the National Government of railroad terminals and port facilities proves, beyond argument, the desirability of co-ordination in such facilities, in order to secure the greatest capacity, efficiency and dispatch, it must be borne in mind that the future development of the port after the war must be planned now in order that provision may be made for the great volume of supplies and reconstruction material which will be forwarded through the ordinary channels of commerce, as well as to provide

for an active campaign for the expansion of our freight commerce following our entrance upon the high seas with a new and highly augmented American Mercantile Marine. Likewise the commerce of the port will be considerably enlarged by the increasing use of the Panama Canal, the use of the New York State Barge Canal (now approaching completion) and the construction of the various links of the Intra-Coastal Canal System.

The particular interest of the public in a future plan for development along wise and far-sighted lines lies in this: that commerce is the most important single factor in the growth and prosperity not only of the City of New York and adjoining cities in New Jersey, but also of the States of New York and New Jersey, as well as of the entire nation. The high cost of living is increased every time an increase is made in the cost of transportation.

Apart from the diversity of governmental sub-divisions, the railroad terminals have been developed by eight principal railroad systems, each of which has built for its own distinct uses a separate port and terminal. With governmental control of the railroads and pooling of their business, there disappears the last and principal objection which they have advanced to the consolidation of these terminals, namely, their desire to secure business independently by competition of facilities and service.

While many reports and studies have from time to time been made on various projects for the development of New York port facilities, no general study has ever been made leading up to a comprehensive plan for the development of port and terminal facilities for the entire metropolitan district.

It is of prime importance that such a

plan be prepared and with that object in view a joint commission, known as the New York-New Jersey Port and Harbor Development Commission, was created last year by the Legislatures of New York and New Iersey. The members of the commission are William R. Willcox, chairman; J. Spencer Smith, vice-chairman; Eugene H. Outerbridge, Arthur Curtiss James, Frank R. Ford and DeWitt Van Buskirk. Major General George W. Goethals is the chief consulting engineer. The commission is actively at work and has held conferences with the presidents of the trunk line railroads and with representatives of shipping, lighterage and warehouse businesses, together with engineering and legal experts of New York and other cities.

Upon the initiative of the commission and at the request of both governors, the President of the United States established a war Board for the Port of New York, comprising the Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Treasury, chairman of the United States Shipping Board, a representative of the Railroad War Board and the members of the commission.

In conjunction with the War Board, the commission has been active in assisting the Federal Government to secure the use, in connection with supplying the Army overseas, of the Newark port terminal, Hoboken docks, Bush Terminal, North River Manhattan piers, etc., and their co-ordination by rail and water facilities.

The time will come when the question will be asked what can best be done progressively to provide facilities at New York for the great increase in commerce seeking this port. Without a carefully studied and complete plan, viewing the development of the port as a whole, great injury to the two states, to the cities in the Metropolitan District as well as to the country in general, might easily result from proposals dictated by selfish or sectional interests or conceived without due regard for the larger interests involved.

II.—A GIGANTIC FREIGHT TRANSFER

BY THE HON. WALTER E. EDGE, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

THE neglected possibilities of the Port of New York could not fail to suggest themselves to farsighted statesmanship. It was inevitable that its development should be eagerly sought by State government, a function of which is to nourish and capitalize public resources as well as to solve social, economic and political problems.

Observation of the Port of New York shows growth, not as a result of systematic intelligent development, but in spite of the lack of such development. Enterprise has been individual. Constructions and extensions have been according to a variety of ideas. There has been no general, uniform plan of improvement. Consequently, efforts have been largely at cross purposes and frequently added to the congestion and we have only scratched the surface of our commercial possibilities.

It was for the purpose of coördinating these efforts through the adoption of a uniform plan of port development that New Jersey sought the coöperation of the Commonwealth of New York to act jointly in the institution and financing of a managing commission. I have no doubt that this Com-

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GOVERNOR WALTER E. EDGE, OF NEW JERSEY

mission will eventually acquire all valuable commercial waterfront of the Port, particularly on the New Jersey side, not with the idea of dispossessing present holders but merely to gain title in order that waterfront improvements may be along those uniform lines insuring a maximum of waterfront facilities. In the meantime the land would be leased to present occupants under terms imposed for the future which would provide for revenue, received either as rental or tax, being based on the increased commercial value of the waterfront as uniformly improved under public ownership. First cost of developing natural assets is merely an investment that must bring rich dividends in public revenue and human benefits.

Relief from traffic congestion will come about through systematization of freight handling quite as much as through enlargement of waterfront facilities. This is another problem for the States to solve in their joint endeavor supplemented by Federal aid when

necessary.

Why should New York be congested with freight shipped from other points and consigned to the West? Why should manufactured articles bound to New Jersey and the South from points east, or raw material bound from the South to the East pass through New York and needlessly paralyze that city's arteries of commerce, badly needed for its own rapidly expanding business? Why should New York business be compelled to depend on slow and uncertain river transportation or the limited individual facilities of competing railroad lines?

Plainly the remedy lies in a clearing house for shippers and consignees on the Jersey meadows. This would be nothing more than a gigantic freight vard, reached by all of the railroad lines entering New York through connecting railroads and linked to New York by traffic tunnels. Then we should have a "Manhattan Transfer" for freight only it would be a point of sorting and transfer for the freight of all railroad lines. Goods consigned to New York would go to New York via the tunnel and goods consigned elsewhere would go to destination by the most direct route. Likelihood of congestion at the Port would be reduced to a minimum; the carrying capacity of railroads would be automatically increased without any corresponding increase in equipment; and the chances of transportation paralysis like that resulting in the recent fuel famine would be materially lessened. It is a perfectly feasible solution, businesslike and practicable.

No better time could be chosen to effectuate these improvements than now when the Federal government has taken over control

of all railroads and the joint port commission has one railroad unit to negotiate with instead of eight. Heretofore, with eight railroad systems passing through New Jersey into New York and the natural and legal obstacles attending any pooling of interests such as would be required in order to have freight converged at a common destination, the task would have been far more difficult.

Under some conditions, laws aimed to prevent monopoly and unsafe combinations of business interests are wise and necessary; under others, they appear to foster much duplication of effort, waste and lack of system in the name of open competition. At any rate, the present opportunity to moderate unbridled competition and mobilize our transportation lines into a commercial force of maximum power is timely. Neglecting to

grasp it, we fail in our duty.

War was not in mind at the time that New York and New Jersey formed their partnership in the interests of the Port. Its coming has served to emphasize the importance of the undertaking. If increased commercial prestige and greater economy in freight transportation made additional port facilities desirable in times of peace, the abnormal demand upon our transportation lines and other traffic arteries for the speedy movement of men, food and fuel, has made them a positive necessity in time of war. Causes of congestion must be removed at once. Industry and commerce must be speeded up to maximum. Our war must be a one hundred per cent, war in business activities at home as well as in military activities in fields afar. Obviously, the Port of New York, the greatest national asset of its kind, provides a fertile field for operations.

Undoubtedly the Federal authorities shared this view when they constituted the New York-New Jersey Port and Harbor Development Commission, together with certain other officials, the War Board of the Port of New York and provided that Federal funds to prosecute the war through improvements in and about the Port should be expended through this Board. Recent events, in fact, have shown that the joint action of New York and New Jersey in respect to the national value of capitalizing the great port asset was indeed almost prophetic. Through it as the National Gateway we march not only to the zenith of our fighting power in time of war but also to the pinnacle of commercial and industrial success in times of

peace.

III.—ORGANIZING NEW YORK'S PORT FACILITIES

BY IRVING T. BUSH, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, WAR BOARD

A CONFERENCE held at the office of the Secretary of War, followed by another conference at the office of the New York-New Jersey Commission, resulted in the creation of the War Board for the Port of New York, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, the American Railway War Council, the New York-New Jersey Port and Harbor Development Commission, and the Mayor of the City of New York.

The executive council of the War Board consists of representatives of all these departments and agencies, together with representatives of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Public Service Commission for the City of New York, and the Public Utilities Commission of New Jersey. Secretary Mc-Adoo was made chairman of the Board, Mr. Willcox was made Vice-Chairman and Mr. Julius Henry Cohen (counsel for the New York-New Jersey Commission) Secretary and Counsel of the War Board.

On account of the increased duties put upon him as Director General of Railroads, Mr. McAdoo resigned a few days ago as Chairman of the War Board and Mr. Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, was elected in his place. The War Board did me the honor of selecting me as Chief Executive Officer, and charged me with the duty of administering these Federal, State and local powers as they should from time to time be granted to me.

By a strange coincidence General Goethals, the consulting engineer for the New York-New Jersey Commission, was recalled into military service by the Secretary of War and the Embarkation Service was put entirely under his control. By his direction, I was made Director of the harbor and terminal facilities at the Port of New York as a part of the Embarkation Service of the War Department.

In accepting the office of Chairman of the War Board, Mr. Hurley writes: "I be-

lieve that the plan of organization whereby Mr. Bush, the Director of Harbor and Terminal Facilities, will report direct to the War Department is sound. General Goethals having complete charge of the Embarkation Service will be in close touch with Mr. Bush, and Mr. Bush will therefore be under the direction of General Goethals."

With the powers of the War Department in close cooperation with the United States Shipping Board and the State and local authorities, the work of the War Board is certain to have a very marked effect upon the speeding up of this part of our national war machinery. The loading and turning about of ships is one of the four links in the chain of transportation to the other side; the other three being the railroad link on this side, the steamship operation across the ocean, and the railroad service under General Atterbury on the other side.

To make the operation of the terminal link in this chain more effective, the War Department commandeered the Bush Terminal property at South Brooklyn-not entirely to my personal comfort or the comfort of the customers of the Bush Terminal Company. There will be established thereby a central concentrated war base at the Port of New York for the Embarkation Service of the War Department. With the increase in the demands upon us for man-power and equipment upon the other side more facilities may be required. Mr. Benjamin F. Cresson, Jr., assistant consulting engineer of the New York-New Jersey Commission, is associated with the War Board in its work and I am also keeping in close personal touch with the New York-New Jersey joint Commission.

Of course the first thing to do is to win the war, and to use the port agencies as a war line. We must not forget, however, that the Port of New York is, in peace times, the agency through which eighty per cent. of the commerce of the country passes. The present crisis in the Port, and its reaction upon the entire country serves but to emphasize the importance of modernizing and increasing its facilities.

NEW YORK CANALS A TRANS-PORTATION RESOURCE

BY M. M. WILNER

DURING the special session of the New York Legislature last August resolutions were adopted reciting the great importance of transportation as a factor in the war and calling the attention of the President and officials of the United States Government to the availability of the canals of New York State. The Federal Government was urged to take such measures as would result in the building of a suitable number of canal barges for the season of 1918.

The resolutions were transmitted to the President by Governor Whitman, and the problem of bringing the canal system of New York State into effective use as an aid in handling war traffic has since been under consideration both at Washington and in

New York.

Fourteen years ago the people of the State of New York voted to appropriate \$101,-000,000 to rebuild and enlarge the canal system of the State. The work has dragged somewhat, but the State Engineer and Survevor has at last been able to announce positively that the entire system from New York to Buffalo on Lake Erie, to Whitehall on Lake Champlain and to Oswego on Lake Ontario will be completed and ready for use for the season of 1918. The original \$101,000,000 authorized has grown to \$154,800,000 actually spent or contracted to be spent, of which \$19,800,000 has gone for terminals. This is due to the inclusion in the project of the Cavuga and Seneca Canal, connecting with the lakes in the central part of the State, to the enlargement of the locks from a contemplated width of 28 feet to a width of 45 feet and to the increased cost of labor and materials during the long period that the canal has been under construction.

As a consequence particularly of the enlarged locks, however, the canal, which was originally planned for barges of 1000 tons, will be able to carry barges as large as 2000 tons, and with close calculation it will be possible to handle a barge of a capacity of 2800 tons. Only the boats are now lacking

to enable this system of waterways to transport fully 10,000,000 tons of commerce a year between tidewater and the Great Lakes. Some enthusiasts say that it can carry 20,-

000,000 tons.

The importance of this transportation route at the present time, when the war has created such extraordinary demands, is apparent from this bare statement of its ca-The President of the United States has taken control for the Federal Government of all the railroads of the country because of the hopeless congestion of freight under the management of independent cor-The railroads are literally porations. swamped by the demands of the war. high railroad authority has said that after the railroads have operated up to 100 per cent. of their possible efficiency there will still remain 15, 25, 30 or possibly a greater percentage of traffic which they will be utterly unable to haul. The New York canals present an almost unused transportation resource which can take care of a large part of this surplus.

Reduced to terms of coal—the commodity in which the public is most interested at the moment—the proposition figures out about like this: A standard steel-hopper coal car carries 50 tons. A 2000-ton barge would be the equivalent of 40 such cars. The season capacity of the canals would equal the movement of at least 200,000 of them. The Lehigh Valley Railroad, one of the greatest of the coal carriers, does its business with about 40,000 cars and transports from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 tons

of coal a year.

IMPORTANCE AS GRAIN CARRIERS

The canals have a still more direct application to the problem of grain transportation. The bulk of the grain for the Eastern and export markets is brought down the lakes by steamer. Formerly much of it was forwarded to tidewater by canal. Reckoning the exports of wheat at 200,000,000 bushels a year, which reduces to 6,000,000

tons, the improved barge canal could take this traffic entirely off the hands of the railroads without using one-half its capacity. Twenty years ago the railroads fought for To-day, under the strain the grain trade. of war demands, they should be glad to be relieved of it. Whether they are or not, the national interests demand that no railroad energies be wasted in carrying produce which can be as easily and more economically transported by water routes. And the canals cannot only release the railroads to a great extent from the necessity of carrying grain, but they should be able to reduce the cost of haulage sufficiently to have an appreciable effect on prices. That is an important consideration in these days of high cost of living. Freight transportation by water is always cheaper than by railroad; and canals, owing to the low cost of boats and the small amount of labor required to operate them, afford, under proper organization and regulation of transfer charges, the cheapest form of water carriage.

This is well recognized in Europe, particularly in France and Germany, where the canals have been of the greatest importance in keeping up war efficiency, and the governments, despite the demands of the war, or perhaps because of those demands, have been improving and extending them. Since the war has been going on, the little kingdom of Bavaria has voted \$155,671,000 as its share of the cost of the proposed Rhine-Danube canal.

EQUAL TO THE RAILROADS IN SPEED

The old idea that canals are suited only to slow-moving and heavy commodities must be revised in speaking of the new barge canal. Boats will be able to travel ten miles an hour in river sections, which include virtually the entire distance from New York to Oswego and about two-thirds of the distance to Buffalo. In the canal channels a speed of six miles an hour can be permitted. The Superintendent of Public Works, Gen. W. W. Wotherspoon, thinks it possible that a fleet of boats can make the round trip between New York and Buffalo in a week. Many rail shippers would be elated if they could see their cars going through in as good time as that.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF BOATS

It is nowadays quite impossible to do a successful transportation business under the old system, in which each boat was an independent unit under its individual owner, who was usually its captain. Shippers demand uniform schedules of rates and regular time schedules in the movement of traffic. demand responsibility on the part of carriers, so that compensation may be collected if goods are damaged in transit. Organization and control are necessary to obtain these advantages. The canal is open to individual and corporate enterprise to whatever extent they will use it. Big manufacturing and mining industries within reach of it already are building or are planning to build boats for the transportation of their own products and materials. It has, however, been thought most consistent with the spirit of the enterprise and the special needs of the time that the United States Government should be asked to provide a fleet of from 300 to 500 barges, varying from 600 to 2500 tons' capacity, with which to assure the promptest and most efficient utilization of this transportation resource. The Government could do this either directly or through a corporation under its control.

NEED OF PUBLIC FUNDS TO BUILD BARGES

The barge canal is, next to the Panama Canal, the greatest experiment in public ownership of transportation systems that has yet been tried in this country. Public ownership, or, at least, control of the actual carriers as well as the channel, is an attractive idea to many. The canal must deal largely with interstate commerce, and the Federal Government can assure the maximum efficiency in its use better than can the State or private individuals and corporations.

The sum needed to build these boats would be from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000, according to the number built. It has been proposed that Congress grant \$200,000,000 to provide new rolling stock for the railroads now under Government control. One-fortieth of this amount, invested in canal barges, which would require but three or four months for building, would bring results nearly equivalent to the construction of a new trunk-line railroad.



ARRIVAL AT MINNEAPOLIS OF A BARGE SHIPMENT OF PLOWS FROM MOLINE, ILL.—THE FIRST IMPORTANT CON-SIGNMENT OF RIVER FREIGHT RECEIVED AT THAT POINT IN FIFTY YEARS.

(In modern river navigation barges, adapted to the freight which they are to carry and to the channels in which they are to be used, are picked up, dropped off or towed in groups from place to place by powerful tow boats in a manner similar to that in which cars are handled by locomotives)

RIVER NAVIGATION

A WAR MEASURE THAT IS LIKELY TO PROVE OF PERMANENT VALUE
BY W. F. DECKER

THE congested condition of traffic has not only made it necessary for the Federal Government to take over the operation of the railroads, but has made it seem wise for the Shipping Board to set aside \$3,360,000 for the construction of barges and towboats for use on the Mississippi River. While this is a war measure for the purpose of expediting the movement of iron ore, coal, and other material needed in the execution of war-time contracts, it is likely to have an abiding effect in the way of reviving general river navigation.

Many have said in the past that it was useless to attempt to rehabilitate a system of transportation which they claimed was long ago discarded because it was found to be too irregular, too inconvenient, and too slow to meet present-day requirements. It is easy to understand why river navigation has declined, but a study of new conditions indicates that this form of transportation is bound to revive in this country, as it has in Europe—not in competition with railroads in country-wide distribution, but as a valuable auxiliary to rail traffic, wherever natural conditions favor.

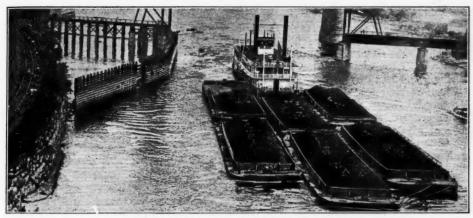
There is not a city in the country to-day with a population of 300,000 and upwards that is not located on navigable water. This indicates that cities so located, when navigation was practically the only means of

transportation, continued to flourish and finally outstripped others that were dependent entirely on rail transportation. In some cases this has been only a potential advantage that has insured low rail rates, but in most cases the waterways have been of direct advantage as actual carriers.

WATER TRANSPORTATION VERSUS RAILROADS

As country-wide distributors, able to load and unload at mill or warehouse, and with conveniences for interchange of traffic, railroads have enjoyed a tremendous advantage over waterways in general commerce. Having, as the best system of general transportation, attracted capital and built up business, it was quite in accord with the spirit of the last few decades for the railroads to endeavor to control all interstate transporta-It was not uncommon for railroad companies to buy up steamboat lines and water fronts, to refuse to exchange freight with water carriers, and to make trouble for customers who divided shipments with river lines during seasons of navigation.

Poor channels and varying stages of water have caused irregularities in service; while poor terminal facilities and old-fashioned methods of handling have caused damages and delays, very annoying to shippers and receivers. Joint bills of lading could seldom be secured. Shippers who divided their



A TOW OF COAL BARGES ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

(Six Government barges towed by the Government steamer, Nokomis, and loaded with 3500 tons of mine run soft coal from West Baden, Illinois, thirty miles from St. Louis, arriving at St. Paul, Minn., August 13th, fourteen days after leaving St. Louis. Conditions not usually encountered delayed the barges about four days, demonstrating the trip can be easily made in ten days)

traffic between rail and river lines often found it difficult to get cars when they most needed them. A slightly lower river rate was not generally considered a sufficient advantage to offset these delays and disadvantages.

But a new state of affairs has arisen.

Our railroads are now being operated by the Federal Government, and water transportation is being recognized as a helpful ally wherever it is possible to divert a portion of the traffic of the country to the waterways and thus leave the railroads open to such traffic as can be handled more advantageously by them.

THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW ATTITUDE

The attitude of the Federal Government on the question of providing facilities for general water transportation was not long ago stated by Congressman John H. Small, Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, of the House of Representatives, in a letter to the Hon. Newton D. Baker. Secretary of War. Mr. Baker sent this letter, with his own hearty endorsement, to all engineers in charge of river and harbor improvements throughout the country. After stating that it is the established policy of the Federal Government to make provision for meritorious projects in the way of channel and harbor improvements, wherever additional facilities are provided by municipalities, corporations or individuals, it is declared that such action on the part of local authorities justifies the Federal Government in continuing appropriations for channel and harbor improvements. These additional facilities and requirements of the Federal Government are laid down as follows:

First, there must exist a demand for the movement of products.

Second, there must be water terminals constructed in accordance with appropriate plans. These terminals require ample water front and capacious warehouses. They should be physically connected by a belt-line railroad with the railroad or railroads serving the community, and one or more good highways should radiate therefrom. They should be equipped with modern appliances for transferring freight between the water carrier and the warehouse and the rail car in the cheapest and most expeditious manner. These terminals should be constructed by the municipalities or other agencies of the state and maintained and regulated for the service of the public. The size and cost of such terminals will vary according to the population and the financial ability of the community to be served and the volume of the traffic which exists.

Third, there must be one or more established lines of water transportation with sufficient capital, the requisite number of carriers, and a complete traffic organization.

Fourth, there should be a complete coördination between the water transportation lines and the railroads, and a pro rating of traffic as to through rates between the water carriers and the rail carriers such as now exists between the several lines of railroads, to the end that each may complement the other and be jointly dedicated to the service of the public.

The committee submits that water carriers must be organized and maintained by individuals, corporations, or other local agencies. It may be substantially stated that Congress may only improve for purposes of navigation the capacity of the harbors and the channels of the interior waterways. SHIPMENTS OF COAL AND IRON BETWEEN ST. LOUIS AND ST. PAUL

The conditions which were largely responsible for the recent action of the Shipping Board were as follows: A manufacturer in St. Louis, who had important Government contracts for war material, was hindered in his work because of delays in rail shipments of iron ore from the Minnesota mines. The cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul were, at the same time, suffering from a shortage of coal needed for manufacturing and heating The nearest reliable coal supply for Minnesota is in southern Illinois, and usually involves a rail haul of about 600 miles. But, since the rail lines are paralleled nearly all the way by the Mississippi River, it was deemed feasible to use open barges for shipments of coal up stream and iron ore down stream. The Government offered the use of some open barges and tow-boats, belonging to the River Improvement fleet, for use in this emergency. Though many delays were experienced from one cause or another, a shipment of 3500 tons of coal was finally made to St. Paul, and the barges were then loaded with iron ore, directly from the train after a short rail haul, and towed to St. Louis.

Earlier in the season a shipment of several barge loads of plows was successfully made from Moline to Minneapolis, but as these barges, also loaned by the Government, were not supplied with deck houses and no iron ore was then available, they were returned to Moline empty.

LOWER FREIGHT COSTS

These tests have not only resulted in the appropriation of over \$3,000,000 by the Government for the development of river traffic, but have confirmed the claims, all along insisted upon by advocates of water transportation, that the cost of freight movement by water is much cheaper than by rail, whenever the points of origin and destination of freight are connected by good channels and proper handling facilities are provided at the terminals.

Moreover, it has been shown that with convenient rail connections, and genuine cooperation on the part of the railroads, a combined river and rail haul may often be employed to advantage as compared with an all-rail haul. As to time required in making shipments by river as compared with rail—wherever a dependable and well-lighted channel exists barges often make a better average daily mileage than cars, which, in times of congestion, are often hung up on side tracks while the barges are not subject to such delays. Small shipments and local stops, which it is assumed will continue, can be taken care of, as in the past, by the old-fashioned steamboats.

A LESSON FROM GERMANY

Much as we may dislike the idea of copying the Germans, we must admit that they are efficient, and we know that they must find it necessary to delay every possible form of internal improvement until after the war. But, not long ago, it was learned that a plan for an artificial channel to connect the upper reaches of the Danube and the Neckar, a branch of the upper Rhine, is to be carried out at once as an important step in their attempt to develop the Pan-German idea. This will give a continuous waterway between the North Sea and the Black Sea, of about the same length as the Mississippi, from Minneapolis to the Gulf of Mexico. but having much less water and a much more difficult channel in its middle reaches than our own great river.

When we take into consideration the great navigable branches of the Mississippi, the numerous flourishing cities on its banks, and the fact that its valley contains a very large proportion of the most fertile land in the United States, we realize that it far exceeds in importance any river system in Europe. We have many other river systems important as freight carriers to the sections they

can serve.

There is no reason why those parts of our country favored by natural waterways, which it is the fixed policy of our Federal Government to keep open to traffic, should continue to depend as exclusively as they have in the past on the overburdened rail-roads.

In the language of General William M. Black, Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, and Chairman of the Water Transportation Committee of the Council of National Defense: "Not one pound of freight should be shipped by rail that can be shipped by water."

BALANCE OF POWER BY DISARMAMENT

BY JOHN R. COMMONS

(Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin)

PRESIDENT WILSON'S fourteen essentials of peace are democracy's demand for a new kind of balance of power. No secret diplomacy; national armaments reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety; an association of nations to guarantee the independence and territory of great and small states alike-these three are the Constitution of Permanent Peace. The other eleven are legislative statutes to dispose of the immediate issues of the present world war.

Compare this new constitution with the old one. The old was Balance of Power by competitive armaments, by secrecy and by sudden conquest. The new is Balance of Power by Disarmament, by Publicity and a Parliament of Nations.

What shall be the powers and authority granted to this parliament of man? Shall it be a sovereign power that levies taxes and supports an army and navy, or shall it be a balance of power that protects the sovereignty of each of its members?

The thing that forced unprepared America into war was Germany's attempt to overthrow the balance of power in Europe. About every hundred years some power of Europe makes this attempt. First it was Spain that nearly conquered the world. Then it was France and Napoleon. Now it is Germany. Always England's sea-power stood in the way.

North and South America are free today because Europe was divided among equal powers. It was the balance of power in Europe that forced England to let go the Thirteen Colonies, forced Spain to let go America from California to Patagonia, forced France to let us have Louisiana and the West beyond the Mississippi, forced Europe to respect the Monroe Doctrine, and will force Germany to let us alone.

Complacently we looked on and gathered in Europe's untenable colonies, and grew big and prosperous while Europe fought or armed herself for fight. Now we, too, fight in Europe because Germany's submarine is destroying the world's merchant marine and is building world empire on the ruins of the

world's balance of power.

But we fight not for the old kind of a balance of power. Wilson's new balance of power is now addressed to the democracy of Russia, and to the democracy of every nation. It is democracy's ultimatum, not only to the rulers of Germany, but to the rulers of the Allies. No more secret diplomacy. No more competitive armaments. A permanent parliament of nations to protect great and small states alike.

Can Wilson and America do it? Can we make dismembered Russia understand? Can we get beneath the diplomacy of Europe and unite the democracies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan? Can America make the world per-

manently safe for democracy?

Two things stand immediately in the way. The nations have been compelled to arm themselves because Germany would not consent to disarmament. Even despotic Russia, twenty years ago, proposed disarmament, but Germany vetoed it. England, some ten years ago, proposed reduction of navies, but the Kaiser and autocracy would not even talk about it. No great nation could for a moment think of voluntary disarmament while Germany was piling up her armaments. This means peace with victory. If autocratic Germany is disarmed, then the others can and must disarm. If Germany is victorious, then we must be permanently armed against a sudden attack, and cannot even talk about disarmament.

But this is not enough. None of the nations will agree to disarm, and none will forego secret treaties, if there is left a chance that one or more will again arm himself. The secret treaties or understandings of England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Japan, have been made either in view of

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Germany's preparation for war or after she had declared war. This war might be settled by universal disarmament, but what is to prevent any nation—Germany, Japan, Great Britain—from starting in again to strengthen its diplomacy by getting ready for another war?

In the words of President Wilson addressed to the Senate a year ago, "Who will guarantee, who can guarantee, a stable equilibrium" in the face of competitive armaments, secret diplomacy, and sudden con-

quest?

To answer this puzzling question is to draw up the constitution for the new parliament of man. What shall be its powers and its authority? Every democracy must know how far we intend to go and to what we shall commit ourselves through our delegates to the coming peace congress—the Vienna Congress of the twentieth century.

Up to the present time the constitution of this new parliament has been an academic question. Wilson has made it the vital question for the statesmen of the world.

These academic solutions, with their many varieties, seem, in their ultimate tendencies, to resolve themselves into two. One is to set up a High Court of compulsory arbitration with an executive to enforce its awards by an army or navy—in effect, to substitute a World Republic for a World Balance of Power. The other is to require any nation before going to war to submit the question to its people—in effect, to substitute democracy for autocracy.

A World Republic

The first proposal is based on the well-known fact that, while we have a loose international legislature which has met at The Hague in recent years, and has adopted rules of war and neutrality, and has especially endorsed the treaties and rules that protect the neutrality of small nations like Belgium and Switzerland, yet this international legislature has no army or navy to enforce its rules. They are called "international law," but they are merely recommendations—scraps of paper.

This is true. Some forty nations, including the United States, at The Hague conference of 1907 agreed to respect the neutrality of all nations, as then recognized by existing treaties. But when Germany violated Belgium's neutrality no nation except England came to the defense of this rule of international law, because no nation except

England was directly interested, for its own defense, in protecting this scrap of paper. It was the *moral duty* of some forty other nations to come to the defense of Belgium, because they had joined in The Hague conference which jointly endorsed that neutrality. But it was not their legal duty, in the sense that they could be compelled to defend Belgium.¹

So, the proposals of a League of Peace, or a High Court of Arbitration, or compulsory arbitration, and so on, in order to be effective, lead up to, or look forward to, some kind of a world republic or federation of states with a world executive, able to compel all nations to come to the defense of international law. They would convert the moral duty of nations into a legal duty.

This is exactly the difference between national law and international law. A national law is backed by the power to raise taxes, which is the power to compel every section and every person in the country to contribute to the expense of police, army

and navy to enforce the law.

But international law is left to be enforced only by any nation or alliance of nations that is sufficiently interested in its own protection to come across and help enforce the law. In short, a national law is enforced by sovereign power—it creates a legal duty; an international law is enforced by balance of power—it creates a moral duty.

Of course, the decision between these two methods of enforcing law is already made. There will not be a world republic nor compulsory arbitration any more than there will be a world empire. There will be, for at least as many years ahead as we can see, only a world balance of power among independent empires, kingdoms and republics. This means that each nation will go on making alliances with other nations as it sees fit when the time comes, and no nation will feel compelled to live up to international law, if it does not want to and can get enough power and allies to defy the other nations. The practical question is not, how to abandon the balance of power, but how to use it.

Democracy and War

The other proposal, which in its extreme form provides that the people of every nation should vote by referendum for and

¹ It was not even the moral duty of the United States, since our delegates had filed memorandum stating that our participation in the Hague conferences should not be construed to require us to interfere in the affairs of Europe.

against war before war is declared, looks to democracy, instead of autocracy and secret

diplomacy, to prevent wars.

But shall we say to Germany, "You must agree that the people shall rule"? The main point where we are particular about their power to rule is this business of going to war. "The only way you can satisfy us that the people actually rule on this point is by changing your constitution so that the people or the Reichstag shall vote for or against declaring war, and by agreeing to hold back on war if your people vote against it. If you will agree to do this we will agree to do the same, and will insist that all of the other warring powers agree to it."

From what we know of Germany, she would agree at once. She is a good promiser. But her promises are scraps of paper. The real thing is power. Power is above law and can always justify itself by necessity. Majorities change. Germany could always set aside even her constitution if she claimed that she was about to be

invaded.

Then, besides, in order that we may know for sure that Germany both accepts democracy and keeps it in power, we should need to set up a board of canvassers of elections in Germany, and count the vote and get out the voters and prevent intimidation—in short, occupy and govern Germany.

But, further, to have kept Germany out of war the people or the Reichstag should have voted in 1913 against the military budget that appropriated money for war

preparation.

And this is not enough. Preparation for war looks five or ten years ahead. England sees that Germany in ten years will have, say, twenty more battleships. So England plans to have forty. If the people are to rule, then we must see to it that it is really the people who vote and that they vote every year on the amount of money to be spent

that year for military purposes.

No. If we start out on the theory that we must have democracy in order to prevent war, we end practically at the same place as when we start on the theory that we must have a world republic to prevent war. We must compel every nation to be a complete democracy, and this can be done only by a world republic that can guarantee, as does the Constitution of the United States, that every State shall have a "republican form of government."

Disarmament

Balance of Power differs from a world federation, or world republic, in that its power is negative and not positive. It tells each nation what it shall not do, not what it shall do. It does not order a nation to be a democracy. It tells it what it shall not do even if it is a democracy. It does not order it to pay taxes. It tells it what it shall not do with the taxes paid. It does not order a nation to bring on an army or navy to enforce a law. It tells the nation not to have an army or navy.

The thing that we want nations not to do is to appropriate money for war purposes. We want universal anti-preparedness. This is disarmament—that is, limitation of armaments. And this is the amount of money each nation shall appropriate for war power.

When these nations get together to stop this war and settle the terms of peace, they should, after disposing of existing armaments, set a limit on the amount of money that each one shall appropriate or spend for war purposes. This means future limitation of armaments.

But this is not enough. We cannot be sure that each nation will limit itself to the amount allowed. And we know that conditions will change so that the next year, or the year after, or years ahead, different limits will have to be set. We know, too, that when the nations once separate after terms of peace are settled each nation can go ahead as it pleases and no nation can be called down unless the others frame up an alliance.

So, before these nations separate, they should stipulate, as one of the terms of peace, that they shall all meet again once each year, and shall each year agree on the *new limits* of money for that year which each shall be allowed to appropriate or spend for war

purposes.

When they meet each year they should meet for this purpose alone. They may discuss anything they want to discuss—annexations, civil war, neutrality, international law, anything. But they shall act on only one thing—the limitation of money to be appropriated by each for military purposes. They can frame up any combinations or alliances they please across the table.

This vote is not a vote. It is an unanimous agreement. No nation is compelled to attend nor to agree. It can protest but still agree. It can withdraw if it does not agree. Two or more can form an alliance and withdraw together. But, if any nation

does not attend or does withdraw, it gives notice of just one thing: it intends to exceed the limits set by the others on the amount of money it is going to spend for war purposes.

And this is not a declaration of war. It is just timely notice that it intends to declare war, or to force the others to declare it. It gives the others plenty of time to declare war on it before it can get ready.

The others can decide what to do at least a year, and indeed several years, before the offending nation and its allies, if it has any, can build ships and guns, get explosives or anything in sufficient quantities for modern war.

The others may decide to squeeze instead of fight. They may bear down or shut down on the money market; they may set up discriminatory tariffs; they may start all kinds of boycotts; they may, as President Wilson suggests, close the seas against the offending nation; a thousand and one kinds of pressure they could bring to bear if they wished and were able.

But these other methods of enforcing the limitation of armaments would all be handled outside the annual conference. Each nation is free to squeeze or fight, to do it alone or in alliance with others. Just one thing the annual conference can do as a warning to the nation that withdraws or is expelled. It can raise the limits on armaments for the other nations, if they feel that the squeeze is not enough and they must get ready to fight. But they will have plenty of time to do either.

There are not many details to work out in advance for this particular Parliament. The only essential thing is to fix a certain date when the conference shall meet each year and to designate the nations each year

that shall meet the next year.

Secret Diplomacy

The annual conference takes no action on any question except military expenditures. It may discuss other questions but not act upon them. They will all play their part in making up the final agreement. Annexations, colonies, tariffs, neutralization of canals and highways, treaties, concessions, spheres of influence—every one of the "stakes of diplomacy"—every one of these economic issues which drive nations to armament—will be discussed or not as they see fit. And every one of them will be indirectly affected by the vote that limits the

military expenses of any country interested in them.

In fact, this is the great thing to be accomplished by the annual conference on military expenditures. Every nation must show its hand. If it does not, the others may cut down its limit of expense, and then, if it withdraws or is expelled, it gives notice of what it expects to get by diplomacy, backed by preparation for war. If it does not withdraw and is not expelled, then it gets by diplomacy only what it gets by negotiation or arbitration without a threat of war.

The two go together. Secret diplomacy is hold-up diplomacy. Not, of course, those preliminary "conversations" where diplomats feel each other out, but those secret agreements whereby they commit their countries. Hold-up diplomacy is war or preparedness for war. Give the nations an equal voice in limiting preparedness, and their diplomacy must be open and voluntary. They may agree to conciliate or arbitrate their differences, if they find that they cannot get ready to fight.

Hitherto conferences of the nations have been called together at the end of wars, or when some one or more nations insisted on it, and there have always been obstacles and delays in getting together. But make disarmament a fundamental issue, and an annual conference for this purpose is inevitable. Secret diplomacy cannot keep secret when all the nations meet regularly to hold each

other down.

Economic Issues

But the actual negotiations on other issues are not conducted at the annual conference, except as they affect the decision on military expenses. Other and different and separate machinery and conferences will have to come forward in other ways, as they have in the past, for diplomacy, courts of arbitration or treaties. These other conferences and these courts of arbitration and international commissions of all sorts are essential and necessary. The conference on military expenses is not a substitute for them but clears the way for them.

It is much like the difference between committees in Congress or Parliament. The committee on labor, or commerce, or transportation, or any other subject, decides one thing, but the committee on appropriations decides how much money shall be allowed for that thing, One committee decides what to do, the other decides how much or how little of it shall be done. They are the same people—members of the same House of Representatives—and so each committee acts in view of what it knows the other com-

mittee is going to do.

Of course, at the first conference—the one that terminates this war and settles the terms of peace—these other questions must be settled in the same instrument. Annexations, indemnities, neutrality, Constanti-nople, Turkey, colonies—all of the proposals that President Wilson and Lloyd George set forth-must be settled when disarmament is settled. The details will be difficult. Just one thing will clear the way to their solution, and that one thing must be settled first-disarmament. The American people will not stand for shutting up Germany's future expansion any more than for Germany's shutting up Russia, or for other countries to shut up America-provided Germany is disarmed. If the Peace Conference will work out a clincher that makes for permanent disarmament—that is, universal limits on armaments-then every other question will be approached in a conciliatory and confident spirit.

Might is Right. Money is the modern form of Might. An annual conference on the money limits of armaments would have more weight than any commissions, treaties, or neutralizations. And as for inducement to attend and participate, the interpretation of every existing treaty and the terms of every new treaty would turn on what this annual conference decides shall be the lim-

its on preparedness for war.

Competitive Armaments

Hitherto the balance of power between nations has been fought out after the money had been secured and spent for war purposes. Let it be fought out before the money is collected and spent, and it will be fought, if necessary, in courts of arbitration and conciliation—on "scraps of paper," not on battlefields.

Like everything else, a necessary thing works badly because we do not know for sure that it is necessary and so do not fix it up so that it will work well. If we once give up the idea that a world power, or anything that looks like a world government or compulsory arbitration, can possibly take the place of a world balance of power, we

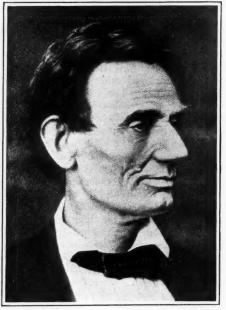
will then go after that balance of power and see what can be done with it.

We find it works badly because it works by competition. One nation starts preparation for war and other nations are compelled to follow. Let us then knock out competitive armaments—not by the socialistic idea of a monopoly of armaments owned by a world government—but in a way similar to that in which a voluntary association like a trade union or a combination of merchants or manufacturers, knocks out competition—by expelling the member who violates the rules and then by boycotting him.

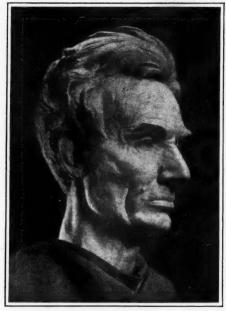
Hitherto there has been no recognized machinery for setting the limit at which all the world might know when a nation has become a menace to the others, and so of liberating them from their obligations to him. Let this limit be set, not at the very last hour of a crisis when the fatal decision is made in secret by the rulers who happen to be in office, but let the limit be set in advance. Let it be set at something that goes to the heart of every nation, and in such an assemblage of the nations that every one will take notice. This limit is, admittedly, the point of excessive preparation for war. Once disarmed, at the end of this war, let America and the other nations be in a position to set this limit. Then there will be a definite line that all will know. Any nation that goes beyond it is a recognized outlaw. Its treaties are annulled. Its money market, its foreign markets, its postal unions—any and all of its foreign relations are jeopardized. Other nations will then be warned in advance and liberated from obligations. We shall then be as near getting that nation to listen to reason and being reasonable ourselves as the independence and sovereignty of nations will permit.

Most of all, will American democracy consent to go further than this? All may agree on permanent disarmament, but all may not consent to be a party to an international commission governing the Dardanelles, or to bind themselves to furnish an army or navy to enforce neutrality. We may all move forward at once to the one great aim of all democracies—disarmament—but we may not all move forward unitedly to other aims. Others may come afterwards. Disarmament is the minimum—the one grand reason for the annual Parliament

of Man.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS PHOTOGRAPHED IN 1860



GEORGE GREY BARNARD'S HEAD OF LINCOLN

LINCOLN IN BOOKS AND IN BRONZE

TO-DAY far more is known and printed about the personality of Abraham Lincoln than has ever been widely known about the career of any contemporary leader of the English-speaking peoples. On each recurring anniversary of his birth (February 12th) we are able to look back over the preceding year and note important additions to our stock of knowledge concerning this man, so far as the printed word is an index of that knowledge.

The year just closed is no exception. In the December number of this magazine reference was made to the recently published

"Uncollected Letters" of Lincoln, containing many utterances of historical value that had never before appeared in print. That volume constitutes the chief contribution of 1917 to Lincoln literature. Nor should we omit mention of Miss Tarbell's revision of her two-volume "Life of Lincoln," including much new material, or of Alonzo Rothchild's "Honest Abe"-a portraiture of the early part of Lincoln's life. Just as we go to press with this number, there comes to hand "Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln," by Dr. Ervin Chapman, a survivor of those who knew the Great Emancipator in the flesh. This work, in two volumes, contains many anecdotes and a fine series of illustrations.

On the opposite page Dr. Philip W. Ayres writes of "Lincoln as a Neighbor."

While so much Lincoln material of one form or another is being written, compiled, and printed, it is natural that interest in Lincoln portraits should remain keen. The controversy over the statue by George Grey Barnard, presented to Cincinnati, has been continued during the year in connection with the presentation of replicas to England and France. At the top of this page we present the Barnard head in profile, by the side of a photograph by Hessler in 1860. The similarity of the two portraits is striking.



THE LINCOLN HOME AT SPRINGFIELD
(The house to which allusion is made on the next page)

LINCOLN AS A NEIGHBOR

BY PHILIP W. AYRES

(Forester of the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests)

T happened that my grandfather, Solomon B. Wheelock, lived in Springfield, Ill., on Eighth street, opposite the home of Abraham Lincoln. The children in the two families were playmates, and I have asked my mother, Mrs. E. J. Ayres, of Los Angeles, who was a girl of eighteen prior to Mr. Lincoln's election as President, to write

out her recollections of the family.

It was during the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and especially after the Cooper Union speech, that the neighbors began to realize that they had in their circle not only a distinguished man whom they respected and loved, but also a great man. Mr. Lincoln had served several terms in the State legislature, had helped bring the State Capitol to Springfield, and had served one term in the House of Representatives at Washington. He earned his living in the practise of the law, and was regarded as a well-to-do citizen. He was at this time in his fiftieth year, but seemed younger.

My mother recalls the frequent picture of Mr. Lincoln going down the street, wearing his customary tall hat and gray shawl, leading by the hands both Willie and Tad, who were usually dancing and pulling him along. Always his thoughtful face was bent forward, as if thinking out some deep problem, yet he was responsive to the questions of the children. He often brought Tad

home on his shoulders.

One evening Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were to attend a reception at the home of Mr. Dubois, the State Auditor, a couple of blocks down on Eighth street. My mother was helping Mrs. Lincoln dress for the party. Willie and Tad came home from a candypull. They were smeared with molasses candy from head to foot. When they heard of the party they wanted to go, too. Robert, who at that time was planning to enter Harvard, was to stay at home with the little boys. Mrs. Lincoln said firmly that they could not go, whereupon the two boys set Their mother was steadfast, and up a cry. the boys were determined. They were kicking and screaming when Mr. Lincoln entered.

"This will never do," he said. "Mary, if you will let the boys go, I will take care of

"Why, Father, you know that is no place for boys to be. When people give a party like that it is no place for children." By

this time the boys began to listen.

"But," said Mr. Lincoln, "I will take them around the back way, and they can stay in the kitchen." He then talked to the boys about being good and making no promises that were not to be kept, and it was arranged that the boys should go if Robert and my mother should get them dressed. They were cleaned up, and in the haste Tad found his short trousers on hindside before. At this he set up another storm. because he "couldn't walk good," which his father quieted by a wave of his hand and saying, "Remember, now, remember." When the little boys were ready, they went ahead with their father, not to the kitchen but to the full reception. With Robert Mrs. Lincoln followed, in a beautiful canarycolored satin dress, low neck and short sleeves, and large hoop-skirts, after the manner of the time.

At one time when Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln went together to one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Tad was left at the Wheelock home for a week. He was a restless child and very determined. He and Willie were both greatly interested in their father's election. "Vote for Old Abe" was their slogan, adopted from the campaign. Willie, who was a lovable child and his father's favorite, used to stand on the terrace of their house and urge passersby to "Vote for Old Abe." He was a pretty good speech-maker himself, and his boy companions, at the end of their parades, would call for "a speech from Willie" to which he would proudly respond.

Mr. Lincoln always took a thoroughly kind and human interest in all his neighbors. My grandfather was for several years an invalid. On returning from a trip Mr. Lincoln did not fail to "drop in for a chat with Mr. Wheelock." Sitting on the edge of the high porch, with his feet resting on the ground, he would talk over the political news of the day. The Lincolns kept one horse with a two-seated carriage, and were far from exclusive in its use. An old friend of the family, Dr. Wm. Jaynes, relates that one Mrs. Dallman told him how kind to her were both Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln when she was very ill. Mr. Lincoln rocked the cradle of her little child, and Mrs. Lincoln tenderly nursed the child at her own breast.

It was the invariable habit of Mr. Lincoln to be most considerate of Mrs. Lincoln. In the new and growing city it was sometimes difficult to get and keep a maid. At such times Mr. Lincoln would help freely in the kitchen. On coming from his office he would take off his coat, put on a large blue apron, and do whatever was needed. At such times the family used sometimes to eat in the kitchen. Happening in, my mother was once invited to share a kitchen luncheon, and vividly remembers Mr. Lincoln's large figure against the kitchen wall. him the matter of food was always one of comparative indifference. When called to meals he came when he was ready, and seemed never just ready to come. Mr. Lincoln was not a garden man, and my mother does not recall ever seeing a hoe or a tool in his hand, except once when he was sawing wood in the back vard.

In the numerous political gatherings at Mr. Lincoln's house, Mrs. Lincoln was a very great help to her husband. A lady of refined tastes, with large social experience, and with considerable political insight, she carried the social end of the campaign admirably. She used frequently to ask my mother to assist in passing the refreshments. a service gladly rendered. On Mr. Lincoln's return at the end of the Douglas debate, a few friends, including Mr. Hatch, Secretary of State, and Mr. Dubois, gathered to get the latest word. Mr. Lincoln was convinced that he would not be elected. With his chair leaning back against the wall, his long legs reaching the floor in front, an ungainly figure, his pale face showing the fatigue of travel, he ran his hand up through his long hair and said, "Boys, you can put in your best licks, but I am not going to be elected." There was a general protest. Mr. Lincoln repeated emphatically, "Boys, I am not going to be elected." No one agreed, but as

everybody knows he was defeated for the office of United States Senator.

At the time of the Presidential election great excitement prevailed in the town, with flag-raisings and processions. This campaign appears to have marked the beginning of torch-light processions, and all the men turned out in the evenings, wearing oilskin coats and carrying torches to march for Mr. Lincoln. When the news finally came assuring the election, Mr. Lincoln remarked, "There is a little woman up the street that will be much interested in this," and walked home to tell his wife.

It was reported that when Mr. Seward and the other political friends came down from Chicago to celebrate the election they brought their own wives with them. They proposed a toast to Mr. Lincoln with wine, but he said, "No, boys, water has been good enough so far," and he drank to their health

in cold water.

After Mr. Lincoln's election as President and before he left Springfield, my mother called at his office to introduce my father. Several gentlemen were present. Mr. Lincoln was very gracious. Taking her hand in his large hand, which was always very reassuring, he said, "This is my little friend Delie, Delie Wheelock" [her name is Ardelia], and gave a few moments of undivided attention. It was this unfailing quality of genial friendliness to all whom he knew that endeared him to them, and left his indelible impression.

The next neighbor on Mr. Wheelock's side of the street was Dr. N. W. Miner, the Baptist minister, who later helped to secure for Mrs. Lincoln the needed pension from Congress. A sister of Mrs. Miner, Mrs. Shearer, was the most intimate friend of Mrs. Lincoln, although the Lincolns attended the Presbyterian church. Shearer spent six weeks with the Lincolns in the early days at the White House, and relates that Mrs. Lincoln, who was anxious about Mr. Lincoln's health, used to get him to ride out with them nearly every afternoon at four o'clock. Mrs. Lincoln recognized the keen political training of Mr. Lincoln's associates, and used often to remark to him, "These men should realize, Mr. Lincoln, that you are the President," or "Don't forget that you are President," to which Mr. Lincoln would smile and say, "Never fear, Mary, there is no doubt who is President." It is very interesting, therefore, that when Mr. Seward presented his



MRS. LINCOLN WITH HER TWO YOUNGER SONS, WILLIE AND TAD

(From a hitherto unpublished photograph by Brady, in 1861)

famous memorandum of things necessary to do with foreign governments, expecting possibly that in the pressure of responsibility he would be directed to proceed with them, Mr. Lincoln replied, "If all these important things must be done, I am the one to do them."

Not even this brief sketch of Mr. Lincoln as a neighbor would be satisfactory without those few memorable words pronounced to his friends and neighbors on the occasion of his final departure from Springfield for Washington in February, 1861. Before the train started Mr. Lincoln appeared on the rear platform. It was raining very hard. He took off his hat. Every man's hat came off. Mr. Lincoln said:

My friends, no one not in my situation can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of this people I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century and have passed from a young man to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one of them is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope your prayers will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

One account says that Mr. Lincoln was touched with emotion and shed tears.

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI

IN Europe and in America the question is repeatedly asked, "What is Japan doing in the war?"

This is a pertinent question, one to which the Americans are right in demanding an answer. Now that Russia's apparent disorganization has become a serious obstacle to the cause of the Allies, the question becomes doubly important. What, indeed, will Japan do if Russia actually concludes peace with

Germany?

For several weeks past rumors have been abroad both here and in Japan that a contingent of Japanese soldiers were landed at Vladivostock. The rumors were persistently denied by the authorities at Tokio until to-day (January 15), when the Japanese Navy has announced that a warship has been dispatched to that port to protect the lives and property of foreigners there and to forestall the seizure by the Bolsheviki of the enormous war supplies which had been shipped from America and Japan and piled up at that place.

Since the middle of December, vessels arriving at Vladivostock with cargoes of war materials from America have been ordered by the Washington Government to leave that port without unloading and go to the Japanese port of Nagasaki or Tsuruga. The measure taken by the Mikado's navy is in compliance with the request of the Consular body in Vladivostock as well as of the governments of Japan's allies. As for sending Japanese troops into Siberia, the Japanese Army declares that the question

At this writing the diplomatic representative of the Bolshevik Government is reported to have arrived in Tokio, but Mr. Krupenski, who has been Russian Ambassador at Tokio since July, 1916, refuses to resign and make room for the new "Am-

bassador."

has not been considered.

When I was in Japan only a month ago on my way to America from China, I took pains to ascertain Japan's real attitude towards the war. I was especially anxious to find out if the much-advertised pro-German sentiment among the Japanese was so strong as it has been represented to be by many western writers—whether that sentiment was really responsible for the half-heartedness which some critics said was Japan's attitude towards the Allies.

As far as the Japanese Government was concerned, I was firmly convinced, as I am now convinced, that there was no division of opinion on the question. The Cabinet is unanimous in insisting upon Japan's hearty coöperation with the Allies arrayed against the Central Powers. Even Viscount Terauchi and Baron Goto, who had, perhaps mistakenly, been accredited with pro-German feeling, emphatically declared that the present conflict must end only after the complete victory of the principles for which the Allies declared war.

As for the public, there are a limited number of people whose attitude towards Germany is apparently friendly. But is Japan the only country in the Allied camp of which the same can be said? Even England is not entirely free from men whose feelings are kindly towards Germany. The fact is that the influence of the pro-German elements in Japan has been greatly exaggerated both by foreigners and by the Japanese themselves. That such elements continue to exist is not important. The vital question is whether they exercise any influence upon Japan's policy with regard to the war.

Before we answer this question we must determine what we mean by pro-German elements. If we mean those who admire German civilization indicated by German achievements in art and science, we can frankly say that they are considerable both in number and in influence. If, on the contrary, we mean those who wish Germany well in the present war, we have no hesitation in saying that they are insignificant both in point of number and in point of in-

luence.

All the great newspapers in Japan, including the Jiji-Shimpo, the Asahi, the Nichi-

nichi, and the Kokumin, are unwavering in upholding the cause of the Allies and advocating the complete defeat of the Central Powers.

Why, then, does not Japan do more for her Allies? The answer is obvious.

To Japan the question is not whether she should aid the Allies more actively, but how she can aid them. She would gladly cooperate with them in the European fields of battle, if only she can find a satisfactory solution for the financial question and the question of transportation involved in such a campaign.

I have reason to believe that the question of sending an army to Europe has been seriously considered in responsible circles. But the conclusion reached seems to be that Japan cannot embark upon such an undertaking which will prove ruinous to her. Considering the gigantic scale on which the war is being fought on the various fronts, Japan thinks that any force less than a million men would not be worth sending to Europe. And to send a million soldiers across the ocean it requires at least 5,000,000 tons of bottom, and Japan has only 1,500,000 tons of vessels.

As for despatching troops into Russia across Siberia, it is out of the question when Russia has little intention of adhering to the none-separate peace agreement. Not only will Russia refuse to cooperate with Japan in the execution of war, but she will, as the Leninites have recently declared, resent and obstruct any move which Japan may make for the reinforcement of her troops at the Eastern fronts. Presuming, however, that Russia were willing to welcome the Japanese to the Eastern fronts, there still remains the great difficulty of transportation to be considered. The Kokumin, a Tokio newspaper close to the Cabinet, recently made the following significant comment:

The question of aiding our Allies on the European fields of war is not so much our question as it is the Allies'. If the Allies want our troops in Europe they must give us some definite plan whereby we may transport our men and the necessary supplies.

Even more difficult than the question of transportation is the financial question. In the war with Russia Japan incurred a foreign debt of \$500,000,000, a burden which still weighs heavily upon the shoulders of the nation. The active participation of Japanese troops in the European war would entail another foreign debt of at least \$20,000,000,000, which might prove a crush-

ing burden to such an impecunious nation as Japan. Much has been said of the profits derived by Japan from the trade stimulated by the war, but such profits have so far amounted to only \$750,000,000, a pittance compared with what accrued to the wealth of the United States in the two years preceding her entrance into the war.

If the idea of bringing Japanese troops to Europe is not feasible, the only way in which Japan may aid the Allies more effectively would be to place at their disposal such number of her steamships as she can possibly This Japan must do if requested by spare. the Allies. I have reason to believe that such a plan will be favorably considered by the authorities. It has even been intimated in certain quarters that Japan will endeavor. to spare 300,000 tons of her merchantmen in the interest of the Allies. The three great steamship companies, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Osaka Shosen Kaisha, and Toyo Kisen Kaisha combined, will, it is reported, be reguested to offer 150,000 tons, while the remaining 150,000 tons will be commandeered from other shipping concerns. In carrying out such a plan the Government will no doubt meet with strong opposition from the shipping interests. When the scene of war is so remote, with no impending danger threatening Japan, the authorities will find it hard to convince the private corporations that it is their duty to offer their vessels to the Allies at a sacrifice, especially when they are reaping enormous profits in carrying merchandise. Nevertheless, Japan will be impelled to carry out this plan. She will perhaps not be able to withdraw 300,000 tons at once from her total tonnage, for such would paralyze her carrying trade. The more practicable plan would be to withdraw 30,000 or 40,000 tons at a time.

At present Japan's absorbing concern is Russia's disorganization and its possible effect upon the Far East. If the Bolsheviki remain in the saddle and eventually conclude a separate peace with Germany, the latter is more than likely to gain a political and economic control over Russia, and thus extend her influence throughout Siberia as far as Vladivostok. Should this Russian port be converted into a virtual German outpost in the Far East, it would be as if the Kaiser's mailed fist were lifted directly over Japan

It is not only the Japanese who apprehend such an eventuality. The Siberian Russians, who do not seem to be in sympathy with the Bolsheviki, entertain much the same fear. The city council of Chita, a thriving city in the province of Za-Baikal, issued on December 2 a proclamation denouncing the move for separate peace made by the Bolsheviki. "If the negotiotions now going on between the Bolsheviki cabinet and Germany," it says, "result in an armistice to be followed by a peace treaty, the fate of Siberia will be that of a colony of the Kaiser and his military entourages."

And yet what can Japan do to forestall such an eventuality? Should the Leninites conclude a separate peace with Germany Japan would, with the consent of her allies, have to take such measures as she may con-

sider necessary to prevent at least Eastern Siberia from falling under German influence. In the present uncertain condition, however, there is little that Japan can do. England and America seem to be tolerant towards the Bolsheviki, hoping perhaps that the latter will not be driven by despair to throw themselves into the arms of Germany. But whether or not a separate peace becomes an eventuality, it is certain that German influence is creeping into Siberia. This is indeed a serious matter for Japan, and will perhaps have the effect of awakening her people to the necessity of a more active cooperation with the Allies for the defeat of Germany.

"BOLSHEVISM" AS A WORLD PROBLEM

BY NICHOLAS GOLDENWEISER

A NEW enthusiasm is arising among the Russian masses. A war for the defense of a sacred principle, the principle of free self-definition of all nations, is looming on the eastern horizon. And it becomes more and more probable that the "pacifist" revolution, brought about by the Bolsheviki, will lead to a resumption of a passionate warfare by the revolutionary armies of Russia. And who knows whether a Russian army, electrified by these newly acquired principles, will not work miracles, just as the French troops did during the great French Revolution?

In the meantime, several parts of Russia have declared their independence. Among the many mushroom "republics" which have appeared, only to vanish in a few days, there remain five instances of a stable self-assertion of separate governments within Russia. Siberia, the Caucasus, the Don region (of the Cossacks), Ukraine, and Finland. All of them have been prompted mainly by the fear of a Bolshevist chaos.

Finland—besides having always been a practically separate state, only loosely connected with Russia in her spiritual and economic development—has fallen under the influence of the kindred Swedish culture, which in its turn is closely related to German. Moreover, Finnish currency, having been comparatively little depreciated during the war, runs a risk of being drawn into the

whirlpool of Russian financial difficulties.

Siberia is a land of sturdy farmers and practically no industrialism. She will not be swayed by extreme socialistic doctrines. The Cossacks of the Don, through all their history, were strongly inclined to find some single leader and to follow him with great loyalty. The youthful General Kaledine enjoys at present their unswerving allegiance and support, which, however, would not go as far as the renunciation of democratic and republican principles.

The Ukraine is a country which deliberately joined Russia in the seventeenth century. It had previously been a province of Poland. Being Greek Catholic, it suffered many persecutions from the Roman Catholic Poles. It never was sufficiently strong to stand alone, and in the future it also will have to join some larger federation.

The Caucasus consists of small nations tied together only by the common Russian culture. It cannot fail to join Russia. In fact, it never seceded from Russia, but merely from Bolshevist Petrograd.

A "UNITED STATES OF RUSSIA"

Whenever the chaotic conditions within Russia proper, created by the Bolshevist extreme radicalism, finally abate, and a ground for a federated republic is firmly established, there is no doubt that all these "indepen-

dent" states wili readily join in a "United States of Russia."

Even Poland is economically interested in having the Russian market open for its flour-ishing industries, and in being protected by high duties against German competition. Finland may stay out if Germany succeeds in drawing the three Scandinavian kingdoms within her sway.

At any rate, here again the Bolshevist policy of letting all nations choose freely their own lot may prove the most effective means of eliminating emotional nationalism and of making all parts of Russia realize in cold blood the old principle of all political wisdom, "united we stand, divided we fall."

In the meantime, the only honest and reasonable policy which can be pursued by those who intend to serve the democratic development of Russia and of the world is to abstain from any violent opposition to the present *de facto* Russian Government, and to join their efforts in helping Russia (irrespective of her government) to get back on her feet.

THE FAILURE OF LVOFF AND KERENSKY

The government of Prince Lvoff was too abstractly "constitutional" to satisfy the masses. Patient waiting for a far-away Constituent Assembly, without taking a step toward the coveted peace and the redistribution of land, was too much to expect of a population exasperated by two centuries of talentless and senseless tyranny.

Lvoff resigned. Kerensky took his place, only to attempt (to use a Russian expression) to "sit between two chairs." He departed from the "constitutional" method of postponing all reforms until the coming Assembly. He introduced fundamental reforms without consulting the elected representatives of the people—as, for instance, his proclamation of a republican form of government.

At the same time, he stuck to the old principles of international diplomacy and opposed an immediate change of social order. The slogan "Peace with the German people, over the heads of the German Government" overthrew Kerensky. The Russian masses, having disengaged themselves with seeming ease from their own oppressors, could not and would not believe that the German people should support Kaiserism. And the natural conviction arose among them that a stubborn continuation of the war was due exclusively to the imperialistic tendencies of

Russia's allies and of Russian capitalists, whereas a direct appeal to the German workmen and farmers would make them immediately lay down their swords.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH GERMANY

This conviction was bound to lead to some sort of direct negotiations with the Germans. Men like Lenine and Trotsky, who were plucky enough to pledge themselves for an immediate armistice and an opening of direct peace negotiations, could not fail to win support of an army bluntly believing in the immediate advent of a "reunion of all the proletarians of the world" (the famous formula of Marx and Engels).

The revelation of a bitter truth awaited them in Brest-Litovsk. The German delegates-who could be recognized as representing not the workmen and farmers, but the army headquarters and the palace at Potsdam-readily consented to the principle of no annexations and no indemnities for Russia and her Allies, but politely declined to renounce annexations by Germany and refused to evacuate occupied Russian territory. In their brutal cynicism they did not stop even before a grim joke, declaring that the population of the occupied Russian provinces had already pledged its allegiance to the German Empire by its tacit acquiescence in being severed from Russia by German troops! They also refused to transfer the conference to a neutral place, insisting upon a continuation of negotiations in a fortress occupied by the Germans.

Not only the Allied nations, but the peoples of the Central Powers themselves, were officially enlightened at last as to the true spirit of German peace proposals. The results were not slow to follow. A passionate battle between the Pan-Germans (reactionary annexationists) on the one hand, and the reasonable majority of the middle classes and socialists on the other, is now raging within Germany, thus adding a powerful new adherent to the principles proclaimed by the President of the United States.

Lenine (who, by the way, comes from an old and respected family of Russian noblemen) and Trotsky (who is a revolutionary of long-established standing among the fighters for Russian freedom) have succeeded in what seemed impossible for their moderate predecessors. They have diverted the attention of the nations inhabiting Russia from internal dissensions towards the burning questions of the hour—the struggle against

Imperialist aspirations and Militarism, and for the self-definition of all nations on a democratic basis. They have also raised high above diplomatic evasiveness the issue of war aims, thus forcing the German government to a strict accountability before the German people.

At the same time, they started on a large scale the contamination of the German soldiers with the same ideas which brought about the disintegration of the Russian army.

WHAT IS "BOLSHEVISM?"

Lenine and Trotsky, as well as the majority of their partisans, are by no means traitors or cowards. They are honest men, with good intentions. Their main fault lies in their disregard of human nature and of the fundamentals of the doctrine of historical materialism, which is their main hobby.

They do not think of the vast, undeveloped sparsely populated areas within the Russian boundaries which clamor for individual enterprise and the concerted action of highly centralized organizations. They wave aside the obvious impossibility of an industrial development, and of the improvement of agricultural production in Russia without the help of foreign credit and foreign experience. They do not consider the fact that in a socialized Russia—with all industries, financial institutions and land tenure "nationalized"—each individual workman or farmer will be infinitely worse off than he has been even under the Czar.

The world will never be without its visionaries and dreamers, who do not notice the imperfections of human nature and whose aim is to right immediately all the wrongs, to brush aside in one sweeping movement all the inequalities, and to remedy at once all the shortcomings of modern human society.

"Bolshevism" is nothing but a combination of both of those elements: an irresponsible multitude of long oppressed, humble laborers and tillers of the soil, driven into frenzy by a handful of uncompromising idealists; a vision at the top, supported by an elementary emotion at the bottom; a crowd of youngsters, armed with bayonets and machine guns, led by a group of fanatical reformers.

The former Russian army has been suddenly transformed into a conglomeration of full-fledged, though very youthful, citizens with rifles in their hands and an extremely exaggerated notion of their rights and privileges in their heads.

One would hardly expect anybody who might remind them that rights and privileges entail duties and obligations to be very popular with those freshly baked republicans. On the other hand, those who declare their will to be supreme and their demands to be sacred cannot fail to win unflinching support.

The rest of the country—the vastly greater part of the unarmed "civilians"—does not count, because no arguments or convictions are sufficiently strong to oppose machine guns and bayonets.

Undoubtedly these Bolshevists are narrow, but it is equally certain that they are perfectly honest and straightforward, perhaps too straightforward for practical use. Why, then, oppose their narrowness with a still greater partisanship? Why declare that everything which is connected with Lenine and Trotsky is bound to be rotten to the core and utterly unacceptable to polite society? Why imitate the Pharisees and their famous sneer: "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

Lenine and Trotsky have so far, against all expectation, solved one problem which seemed insoluble under Lvoff and Kerensky. They have, by sheer force, eliminated all class struggle. They proclaimed one class supreme. They introduced the undisputed

"dictatorship of the proletariat."

Intoxication from unbounded freedom will pass. The armed youngsters will return to their villages and lay aside their rifles. Experience will soon teach them the difference between the desirable and the possible, the natural limit of all aspirations. They will learn that by dividing private lands and private fortunes among all, they will not reach any improvements in their own conditions of life, but just the opposite. They will understand that a 2 or 3 per cent, increase in their holdings will not bring the advent of a Gold-They will comprehend the importance of long experience, education, technique, traditions, organization, concentrated creative energy, of the qualities of that hateful state of things which is called "capitalism." The older and saner elements will come into their own and become, through sheer numbers, the controlling element of Russia's future destinies.

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THE WAR WORK OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

BY VERA SCOTT CUSHMAN

(Chairman of the War Council of the Y. W. C. A.)

I'N recent weeks the Young Women's Christian Association, through its nationwide appeal for a \$5,000,000 fund to be used in war work has won a recognition second only to that accorded to the older and better known organization of slightly different initials which ministers to the physical, mental, and moral needs of young men the world over.

During a period of fifty years, the National Young Women's Christian Association has built up a vast machinery of service, operating in 732 colleges and schools and 263 cities. About 35,000 women have been employed as volunteers on committees, and 2000 social secretaries, 200 of whom constantly go from State to State. The National Association is the dominant body in the Young Women's Christian Association of the world. With its equipment and experience, and the enlargement of its regular activities and responsibilities among the various nations since the beginning of the World War, the Association was prepared to undertake a definite work of patriotic service when the United States entered the war.

On the 6th of June, 1917, the Association called together a War Council of 100 carefully selected representative women to determine upon the nature of the War Work which should be undertaken. It was decided to institute a campaign for \$1,000,-000. As the plans of the War Department became more definite, our social service plans evolved and an additional fund of \$4,000,000 was needed to carry on the work. At present this work includes the housing and safeguarding of women workers wherever possible throughout the United States and France, the establishing of Hostess Houses at the Training Camps, and the furnishing of trained and financed secretaries to different agencies of government as they shall be needed. We propose, in brief, to organize the women and girls of the entire country into a constructive body which shall render definite trained service to the nation as an expression of patriotism. The plans for the work were evolved in accordance with the plans of the War Department and the Federal Commission on Training Camps,

Our first new war work was the forma-

tion of the Patriotic League. In order to make it national, not sectional, it was put forth as an idea, not as an organization. Anyone willing to do the work could promote it, and every girl in the United States regardless of race, or creed, is eligible for membership, provided she will stand by the pledge, which reads:

I pledge to express my patriotism

By doing better than ever before whatever work I have to do;

By rendering whatever special service I can at this time to my community and country;

By living up to the highest standards of character and honor and helping others to do the same.

At the present time over 255,000 buttons have been sent out by the association. An officer in command of one of the Training Camps exclaimed when told of the League pledge: "If the women of the land would stop some of this knitting and get every girl from the Atlantic to the Pacific to sign this pledge and to try to keep it, they would be doing something vital to the nation twenty years from now."

THE HOSTESS HOUSES

The Y. W. C. A. Hostess Houses have been erected at the Training Camps at the request of the officials of the War Department. The first House was erected at Plattsburg on ground staked out for the Association by the commanding officer, Colonel Wolf. It was the first work of the kind to be undertaken for women and girls inside the boundaries of a United States army post.

Thirty-six of the Houses are in actual operation and twenty-five others to be erected are authorized and under way. Seven of these are to be exclusively for the use of colored women and colored troops. Five National Colored Y. W. C. A. Secretaries are directing the work for colored girls along the same lines as that laid down for

white girls.

Each Hostess House has a staff of secretaries and hostesses. The plan of the buildings include a reception-room a cafeteria where both men and women may eat, a restroom for women waiting until soldiers are off duty. Telephones and messengers summon the men to the House on the arrival of their relatives and friends; chaperons are provided for girls visiting the camps unaccompanied by relatives, and skilled interpreters stand ready to assist the women who

do not speak English in finding their men. There is rest and recreation, a taste of home cooking, and a normal social atmosphere to offset the tendencies to social anarchy conditional upon the gathering together of a body of men socially unassimilated with their surroundings.

One man who enjoyed the hospitality of the Hostess House near Niagara gave ten dollars to the work on his first pay day. "I want to give this to you," he said, "for giving girls a square deal and helping us to

meet them on the square."

The Blue Square is the symbol of the Y. W. C. A. War Work. It typifies the fourfold nature of the truth upon which it is based, the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual concepts which lie behind the impetus of this great organization of women who are giving their best to the nation through the channels of patriotic service.

BUREAU OF SOCIAL MORALITY

One of the helpful adjuncts of our War Work is the assistance given by the Y. W. C. A. Bureau of Social Morality. This bureau sends out women physicians who have a genius for imparting medical information upon the basis of high moral concepts. Talks are first arranged for the mothers of the girls, then these physicians address groups of high-school girls, office, shop, and factory workers and impart information necessary for their protection. Dr. Richard Cabot has long been in consultation with the Y. W. C. A. in regard to this particular work.

EXTENSION OF THE Y. W. C. A. WORK TO FRANCE

The sum of \$1,000,000 has been set aside for work in other countries. A part of this fund will be devoted to social service among the Red Cross nurses at the base hospitals in France, Warm, comfortable buildings will be erected near the munition plants and factories to accommodate the tired women and girls who have not at the present time even a warm place to eat their midday lunch. Trained hostesses will create a pleasant social atmosphere for the women who stand behind the armies of that stricken country. A clubhouse in Paris, cafeterias, recreation centers, and special welfare work are planned to maintain the health and spirits of the fine, unselfish women of France. So far as possible, this work will also be extended to Russia.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

In this section of the Review of Reviews, which includes the comment of American and foreign publications on various phases of the war, we invite the special attention of our readers this month to expressions of German opinion (pages 198, 204, and 206) and to

articles from French sources (pages 196 and 212).

Significant statements and comments by American writers are given in the article by Mr. Wythe Williams, beginning on this page, in Fuel Administrator Garfield's outline of his job (page 202), in Professor Ames' account of "Science at the Front" (page 203), in Mr. Heywood Broun's drastic criticism of American censorship methods in France, and in Mr. Burton J. Hendrick's analysis of the labor situation (page 210).

Mr. Isaac F. Marcosson's comparison of the business men who are now running the British Government to a "board of directors" is well worked out on page 201 and for Americans it has a peculiar interest because of the American experience and background of the foremost of these administrators. On page 213 there is an interesting account of the terri-

torial dispute between Chile and Peru, from the Chilean viewpoint.

Other timely topics treated in this department are, "The New Industry of Fur Farming," "Exploring and Prospecting by Airplane," "A French Estimate of Rodin," "The New Government Shipyards," "Shall Serbia Be a Pawn?" and "Madam Adam, Feminist."

The American "heavy" reviews, like every other form of publication, have been profoundly affected by the war in the make-up of their programs. The list of articles in the current Yale Review (quarterly) is representative: "To the Russian Soldier," by Leonid Andréev; "America's place in the World," by George Louis Beer; "The American Essay in War Time," by Agnes Repplier; "The Expansion of Our Army," by William Addleman Ganoe; "Christ and the Pacifist," by Benjamin W. Bacon; "Should Austria-Hungary Exist?" by Charles Pergler; "Cossack or Republican?" by Wilbur C. Abbott; "The Railways in Peace and War," by Samuel O. Dunn; "Black-Earth Russia," by Olive Gilbreath; "The Red Cross Dollar in France," by Howard Copland.

FRENCH MILITARY DISASTER UNDER CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP

N a brilliant and searching article contributed to Collier's for January 5, Mr. Wythe Williams, the Paris correspondent of the New York Times, reviews what he terms "the Battle of 1917," meaning the French and British offensive which followed the German retreat to the Hindenburg line in the spring of last year. Mr. Williams had months before described this offensive as in reality a great French victory; even though its chief result was the removal of General Nivelle from his position as commander-in-chief of the French armies. He now makes an even stronger assertion in the statement that the possibilities of this Battle of 1917 were so strenuous at one moment

that the war might have ended with an Allied victory before Christmas Day.

Passing over Mr. Williams' summary of the successive war councils and plans that were agreed upon by the Allies, we come to the actual operations of April last:

The original dates for the offensive were set for the beginning of April; the English were to lead off on April 4. Franchet d'Esperey was to make the secondary French attack on the 6th, while the great effort on the Aisne was fixed for April 8. So far did the retreat to the Hindenburg Line fail to throw the offensive out of gear that the actual moment of attack was only retarded in such a way as might happen in any offensive—by weather or a decision for further artillery preparation. Haig actually attacked on April 9 and 12. Franchet d'Esperey struck on the 14th.

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The troops on the Aisne went "over the top" on the 16th-which is the date by which the entire offensive is generally known. Pétain attacked east of Rheims on the Moronvillers crest a day later. The English took Vimy Ridge as ordered, and I now consider particularly only the dispositions of the French forces prepared for the grand attack on the Aisne, which have been the subject of so much controversy.

On the morning of April 16 the left half of the Aisne line between Soissons and Craonne was held by the Sixth French Army, under command of General Mangin. The right half, between Craonne and Rheims, was held by the Fifth Army, commanded by General Mazel. Both armies, as well as the two reserve armies-the Tenth and the First, under Generals Duchêne and Fayolbelonged to the group of armies of the reserve commanded by General Micheler.

The majority of the fifty-two German reserve divisions were concentrated against these two French armies of shock—the Sixth and Fifth under Mangin and Mazel. The German general army order of that day addressed to the troops on the Aisne was: "Resist to the death in the first line.'

The question now arises: "Why did not these two French armies pierce and even smash the German line?" Mr. Williams states that as part of the conception of this offensive the first result hoped for by the Allies was to dislodge the Germans and drive back their entire line at least as far as the River Meuse. His answer to the question: "Why was this result not achieved -why were German lines not broken?" is this: "By nightfall of the sixteenth of April the French armies were no longer under military authority but were in a domain purely political."

On the morning of that day, April 16, 1917, there were gathered in the village of Savigny, at the headquarters of General Micheler, commanding the group of armies, over a dozen members of the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies, who came out from Paris to take in the spectacle of the attack. The date of their arrival will remain tragic in history. Whether Micheler allowed them there or whether they came on their own invitation and insisted on remaining upon their own authority, I do not know. But I do know that by nightfall, as a result of what they saw for the first time in their lives-a real battle of blood and steel-they were all in a mad panic. Throughout the day they had frantically tele-phoned the Government in Paris that the French armies were being slaughtered, and demanded that the offensive just under way be ordered stopped.

The offensive did not actually cease at once. But from that first day it was so hampered by political interference that it could never again get into its stride. Yet despite the German order to resist to the death in the first line, the French had by nightfall of that first day taken both their

first and second lines!

The British Government, meanwhile, de-

manded that the battle should go on. The French casualties had been enormously exaggerated in the Paris newspapers, but late in April, when the real figures were at hand, compiled by army authorities on the ground, it was found that for the entire period of nine days from the beginning of the attack the wounded numbered 54,000 and the dead 15,000. These figures had been enlarged for publicity purposes by over 70 per cent. In his arguments for the offensive going on without delay, Sir Douglas Haig pointed out that of the fifty-two divisions of German reserves at the beginning of the battle, it was now known that forty had been completely used up and were out of action. Haig told the French that the Germans had only twelve reserve divisions left, while the French has two entire reserve armies with artillery in their Aisne sector alone that had not yet fired a shot. The French Government assured Haig that the battle would go on. Haig returned to his headquarters on April 28. The next morning, after he was out of town, M. Painlevé, the French Minister of War, sent a telegram to General Nivelle ordering that the entire offensive be immediately stopped.

Mr. Williams makes this further assertion concerning the situation on the German

side at that date:

It is now a matter of definite knowledge-and proof-that on that day the German general army order was to prepare immediately for a quick retreat to the line of the River Meuse. Three German army commanders had been ordered to Berlin in disgrace. The end of the German invasion of France seemed at hand.

Mr. Williams sums up the responsibility of the then Minister of War under the following heads:

First, it is stated that before this 16th of April offensive began, the Minister of War invited nearly all French group commanders to Paris to discuss and criticize the plans of the offensive that had been decided upon by the High Command and agreed to by the Allied governments.

Second, the Minister of War sent the telegram to Nivelle ordering the offensive to cease after Haig and England had been assured that it would

be continued.

Third (this is quite as important as the other two in view of later results), the Minister of War stated in public session of the Chamber of Deputies of July 7 that "henceforth the French armies would seek only limited objectives." He implied that the new commander was without Napoleonic ambitions, and so, it is charged, he thus gave public and official notice to Germany that from that date she need fear nothing of importance from France.

SHALL SERBIA BE A PAWN?



MRS. ST. CLAIR STOBART

THE President's Message of January 8 helped to allay the growing fears of the Serbians in regard to the position of their country after peace shall be declared. Paragraph 11 of the program advanced by President Wilson stated:

Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

The activity in Serbian publicity and Serbian relief work in this country at the present time has not been wholly a matter of obtaining succor for that forlorn country; there has been a great object behind the needs of the immediate present; this object is the future independence of Serbia.

The strategic point aimed at by the Central Powers was the placing of Serbia as a vital link in the Berlin to Bagdad railroad project which was essential to the success of the Mittel-Europa scheme establishing German hegemony through southeastern Europe to Asia Minor and Persia.

The essential point of interest in Northcrn Serbia is the Morava valley. This valley connects with a low pass with the valley of the Vardar which in turn opens the road to Salonica and Asia Minor. In the recent peace proposals made to the Bolsheviki by the Central Powers, a pretense of "no indemnities and no annexations" was advanced. The Bulgar Prime Minister, in a speech before the Bulgarian Parliament at Sofia, states among other things that:

Bulgaria demands a correction of the frontier with Serbia, including in the territory of Bulgaria all of the lands which are populated by the Bulgarians, all along the Morava river to the Danube; we want Macedonia with that part which by the treaty of Bucharest was cut off from Bulgaria. . . Our formula is the unification of the Bulgarian nation.

In this statement is the reason for Serbia's apprehensive attitude. The Bulgar Prime Minister stated that the war aims of his speech had been received with approval not only by the Bulgarian legislative bodies but by Vienna and Berlin. It seems probable to the Serbs that Germany is using Bulgaria to make claim to the territory necessary to the fulfillment of the Mittel-Europa scheme, and that Belgium, Northern France, or possibly the East African German colonies, might be relinquished in exchange for these Bulgarian claims.

The inhabitants of the Morava Valley are almost exclusively pure Serbs and the Bulgarian claims are justified neither historically nor racially.

With this brief summary in mind relative to Serbian affairs, those who wish to know actual war conditions in Serbia will find an illuminating picture in a book, "The Flaming Sword," by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, that deals with military hospital work in Serbia and covers the events of the great Serbian retreat from North Serbia to Scutari in 1915.1 Mrs. Stobart was the first woman to mobilize and command a field hospital. The first part of her book describes her experiences in general military hospital work in Bulgaria, Belgium, France, and Serbia in the early days of the war. Part second gives an account of the military hospital established by her English unit of forty-five doctors, nurses, and their aides at Kragujevatz. In the country roundabout,

¹ The Flaming Sword. By Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. Doran. 325 pp. Ill. \$1.75.



THE IDEA!

WILHELM: "Don't worry! You shall have Albania, Serbia and Champagne. What more do you want?" CONSTANTINE: "A sandwich!" WILHELM: "That is sheer gluttony!"

From Iberia (Barcelona)

thirty roadside dispensaries were located which gave valuable relief to the sick and needy until the beginning of the German invasion. The third section is a marvelously vivid diary of the events of the retreat of the Serbian Army down the valley of the Morava, and the escape of the hospital unit with the loss of only three nurses (among them Mrs. Mabel Dearmer), through Montenegro to Scutari. Mrs. Stobart says:

I am not a military expert, but I cannot help believing that the retreat of our Division, as well as that of the whole army, had been from begin ning to end, marvelously handled. To retreat during nearly three months, fighting rearguard actions all the time, under circumstances which could scarcely have been more difficult, and to have saved the army and its morale, was a great performance.

Serbia has perceived that the life force of a nation is a spiritual force and is not dependent upon material conditions for existence. . . . She is full of courageous faith because she understands that a nation means primarily not a physical country, not state, not government, but a free and united spirit. The Serbian people sacrificed their country rather than bow the knee to militarism. . . . A people with such ideals and with such power of sacrifice must be worthy of a great future.

Mrs. Stobart's narrative demonstrates three important facts: the work that courageous, able-bodied women can do in time of war; the unspeakable evil wrought by a war of conquest, and the absolute necessity for the independence of the smaller nations as a stipulation of the terms of peace.

THE ANZACS: ODYSSEY OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS AND AUSTRALIANS

NEW ZEALAND, so notable for its progressive, radical legislation, might justly claim another distinction—the splendid loyalty and valor of her people in the great war. The dauntless intrepidity of her sons in the most trying situations must needs arouse our profound admiration. The Revue des Deux Mondes (Paris), in a recent issue, describes circumstantially the part those brave men have taken. We cull some of the salient points of M. Charles Stiénon's article:

The Anzacs [brief for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps] inhabit the grassy solitudes of the antipodes. Their distance from the scenes of the conflict would, it would seem, keep them from participating in it. And yet, one day they boarded by thousands ships bearing them far from their native soil. They crossed an ocean and

two seas, defended the Suez Canal, fought against Turkey among the sands of Sinai, and at the Dardanelles, not far from ancient Troy, repelled the assaults of the fanatical Arabs in Egypt; yesterday they shed their blood in Picardy; to-day they are among the most heroic soldiers of the conflict in Flanders.

Isolated in an ocean where competition by the nations for naval bases was incessant; aimed at by Japanese expansion; witnesses of German intrigues in Samoa; counting little upon England's help (connected with her since 1907 as a Dominion), the two islands early realized the necessity of an efficient military organization. They succeeded, and Lord Kitchener long before the war recognized the value of the New Zealand army establishment.

As soon as England's entrance in the war became known, New Zealand gave a splendid example of a united people. Without any appeal, men volunteered en masse. In the city of Auckland alone a thousand offerred to serve a few hours after the official announcement of England's joining the conflict. Enthusiasm spread throughout the country; even the Maoris, ancient masters of the Islands and old enemies of the English, demanded a place in the army.

Justly intent upon the health of their troops, the New Zealanders selected a most salubrious stretch of fifty acres for their camp. Hundreds of low frame houses sprang up like mushrooms. The cuisine, amusements, etc., received attention, and in particular, the dormitories, illuminated by 3000

electric lights.

The question of conscription soon arose. At the close of 1915 England demanded a contingent of 2500 men monthly—instead of 900, as at first—and the law was passed

with but four dissenting votes.

The writer details the wanderings and the active service of the valorous New Zealanders, beginning with their overcoming their nearest adversaries by the conquest of the Samoan Islands. After a perilous voyage to New Caledonia, they captured Apia, replacing the German judges, customs collectors, etc., by soldiers. Those restful spots were voluntarily abandoned in order that the troops might join their comrades in the fight at Gallipoli.

To sail the Pacific while the hostile corsairs still held it was no light matter. The fleet—starting from Wellington—consisted of twenty-two vessels, guarded by an Anglo-Japanese squadron. They knew that enemy cruisers prowled in those waters; above all, that the *Emden*, the noted corsair, lay in ambush somewhere. The writer describes the fight with that vessel, which resulted in its destruction. The first Australasian naval

feat of arms was a splendid success.

Continuing their voyage, the convoy sailed up the Red Sea. Lack of space forbids our recounting their activities in Egypt. Turning, then, to Gallipoli, M. Stiénon observes that if the achievements of the Anzacs remained almost unknown, the same cannot be said of their splendid action in the Dardanelles. Their intrepid resistance at the gates of Constantinople, their ardor in attack, created an esprit de corps among them which the whole British Empire acclaims as "the Anzac spirit."

The Gallipoli adventure was, as we know, a lamentable affair. It was at Gaba Tepe—one of the two landing places—April 25, 1915, that the Anzacs commenced to inscribe their heroic page of history. Will it ever be explained—the writer asks—why Sir John Hamilton ordered the Pacific troops to land in a spot the most difficult from a geographic and military point of view? A mystery shrouds the resolve which cost so many lives. A few meters of sandy soil alone separate the water from the thorny heights. And in that space were crowded men, rearing horses, provisions, medical aid—a whole army!

Above, the Turks adjust their aim. Below, midway, climbing against all odds, the heroic Anzacs. After a furious combat of ten hours, all their officers dead, simple privates in command, the struggle had to be abandoned; 20,000 Ottomans by that time commanded the summit. The only thing gained was a strip of land between Gaba Tepe and Ari-Burnu. No hope of swift success; to hold what was gained must suffice. Thus until August, 1915, the 30,000 Anzacs had to live and fight on some hundreds of square meters of Turkish soil.

The Anzac troops took a glorious part in those sad days of August, and exhibited remarkable ingenuity. The point was to retreat unseen by the Turks. Gradually the men left until the time came when there were only about a hundred to defend a front which, but shortly before bristled with thousands of bayonets. Of course the men acted as if there were thousands of them—firing off guns, throwing grenades, etc.

It was on September 15, 1916, that the Pacific troops fought their first important battle on the Western front, between the Somme and the Ancre. It was their special task to outflank the enemy in the village of Flers. Much was expected of a new engine of war, since become famous—the tank. The combat was a fierce one, the Germans being utterly annihilated. And June 7, 1917, the Anzacs rendered memorable service to the Allies in the capture of Messines-Wytchaete in Flanders.

In 1917 the Anzac forces were reorganized; some are stationed in Palestine, but the

majority are in France.

Furthermore, the rôle of the Anzacs in naval warfare deserves mention; they took a glorious part in the Battle of Dogger Bank, under Admiral Beatty, January 24, 1915, and again in the Battle of Jutland.

A GERMAN LIBERAL'S IDEA OF "RECONCILIATION"

CERTAIN progressive public men in Germany now and then find a medium for the expression of their views. In the October number of Deutsche Politik appears an article by Professor Gerhardt Von Schulze-Gaevernitz, a member of the Reichstag, who is described as a lifelong admirer of England and an advocate of a peace of reconciliation between England and Germany

This war, says Professor Von Schulze-Gaevernitz, is different from all others in that it cannot be ended with a "victory" in

the old sense of the word:

A Napoleon, and after him a Moltke, wrote the conditions of peace with the point of the sword, in the conquered capital of the enemy. But we shall conquer New York and Moscow, London and Paris, just as little as our enemies will conquer Berlin, Vienna and Constantinople. From both geographical and military grounds arise this reciprocal invincibility and therewith the peace "without victors and vanquished" (President Wilson). Millions to-day have upon their lips the question: Why these further fearful sacrifices of blood and treasure, now that sober reason can see the end?

This German publicist cherishes no delusions regarding the humbling of Great Britain. Some Germans, he says, hope to bring England to her knees "in such a way that she will creep whining out of her hole like a famished beast of prey and swallow each of our demands."

A mind acquainted with history, when it hears that asks: Is it thinkable that a world power, built up through continuous wars of three or four centuries, should break down in as many months?

After a moderate estimate of the outcome of the U-boat campaign and Germany's capacity to resist starvation as compared with that of England, this writer proceeds to state explicitly what he regards as the vital interests of the principals in the war which must not be put in doubt:

- 1. Vital for England is the sovereign independence of Belgium, as well as control over Egypt and the Suez canal—but not the internal political form of the Belgian state, nor the perpetuation of the Belgian Congo.
- 2. Vital for France is the untarnished honor of her sword and her territorial integrity—Calais, now held by England, not less than the Brieg ore fields, now held by Germany. It is not vital

to have freedom of her colonial possessions from any possible boundary changes. These possessions signify a gigantic burden upon the depleted land, after the horrible sacrifices of war.

- 3. Vital for Russia is the integrity of Russia itself, particularly abstention by outsiders from the settlement of political questions between the Ukraine and Moscow. It is not vital for Russia to control the political reconstruction of each of the alien western nationalities which were forcibly torn by the Czar from Europe, and never born of mother Russia herself.
- 4. Vital for Germany is integrity of the empire, including Alsace-Lorraine, as well as the restoration of Asiatic Turkey, to which we are obligated by treaty, honor and interest; also a certain colonial addition to our small land, rich in children, poor in raw materials. Less vital are, first, the political constitution of Alsace-Lorraine; second, political or economic preference or monopoly in Asiatic Turkey, which Germany does not demand; and, finally, the status quo of our former colonial borders.
- 5. Vital for Austria-Hungary is Triest and a permanent pacification of Serbia. Less vital are the Trentino and the small Russian portion of East Galicia.

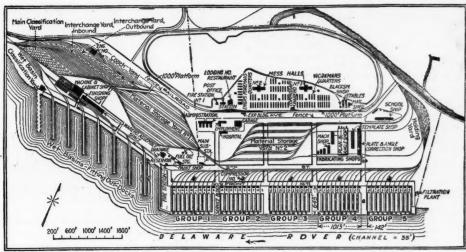
This Reichstag member is enthusiastic over the new franchise law in Prussia:

Thank God, the Kaiser, in contrast to the Czar, has turned in time to the road of orderly progress, by freely putting his signature to the promise of universal and equal franchise in Prussia, thereby showing his determination to end the disfranchisement of the majority of his subjects.

There has been no more important act in Prussian history since the liberation of the farmers. Even the revolution of 1848, and the constitution which followed it, left class rule to remain in parliamentary disguise—the same class rule against which the great Prussian monarchs of the eighteenth century had fought without material success.

To-day, in the extremity of our struggle for existence, we are taking the last step toward the unification of the nation and the full equality of all its children. Each of them, the propertied no more than the propertyless, has done his duty. Therefore, to the farseeing mind's eye a new Germany is arising from the roaring waves of this world storm, free within, a champion of freedom abroad, greater and stronger than the old Germany, in spite of renunciation of conquest. Our dearest blood has not flowed in vain.

During the most tremendous war history has seen, while our fronts in the West stand fast and our armies in the East victoriously advance, Germany is facing another tremendous problem: A fundamental renovation within. The problem, too, will be solved, not in the form of a special dispensation from a monarch, not as the outcome of party conflict and party hate, but for healing and the strengthening of the fatherland.



SHIPYARD AT HOG ISLAND, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, FOR THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION

THE NEW GOVERNMENT SHIPYARDS

"THE United States Government," says the Engineering News-Record, "is to become the greatest shipbuilder in the world."

Not only has it commandeered hundreds of vessels on the ways and at the fitting-out docks, and contracted for the construction of hundreds more at private yards, but it has under way three yards of its own, yards where ninety commercial ships may be on the ways at one time, and where about 1,000,000 tons of shipping will be in various stages of construction. These yards are about ready to start operation—in fact, some keels have already been laid down, and by the end of 1918 a large proportion of the 310 freighters projected in the plants will be on the high seas. And yet four months ago the sites of two of the yards were vacant wastes, and the third was occupied by a foundry for the making of cast-iron pipe.

On December 1 the Emergency Fleet Corporation, under the direction of the United States Shipping Board, was supervising the building of 1118 vessels in 116 shipyards in various parts of the country. This fact is sufficiently impressive

but in addition to this it is building, through three agent companies, the three large shipyards where ships will be built under Government direction with Government money. All of the vessels will be the much-discussed "fabricated steel ship" design, in which structural steel shapes fabricated at bridge and structural shops outside the shipyard will predominate.

These three yards and the ships to be constructed therein are built under the agency plan. That is, the Government is in complete control; it furnishes the money for the yards and the ships, but employs three companies as agents, on a fee basis not announced, to do the actual building. The yards and the agents are as follows: Hog Island, Philadelphia, American International Shipbuilding Corporation; Newark, N. J., Submarine Boat Corporation, and Bristol, Penn, Merchants Shipbuilding Corporation. The arrangements with these companies were not completed until late last summer, and construction work followed miraculously close upon the speedy organization of the designing forces.

The "fabricated ship" is one of the many interesting novelties developed by the war.

The design, which varies in detail for the ships being built in the three yards, has a simplified and almost rectangular hull section for a maximum length of ship, in which are used shapes and plates which are standardized and made up of ordinary structural material capable of being fabricated in any structural shop. The stern and bow sections and additional extraordinary fittings, making in all from 5 to 30 per cent. of the steelwork of the ship, depending upon the type of ship, have to be rolled from so-called ship sections, or of such shapes and in such form as to require a special shop. These shops are a part of the shipbuilding plant. All lumber and other fittings, and all boiler and engine equipment, will, so far as possible, be manufactured in separate plants, as a contract job, and be shipped, ready for installation, to the shipyard.

The problem in the fabricated shipyard, therefore, becomes one of assembly, with its contributing problems of routing, handling, erection and riveting. The designer must provide a railway yard capable of receiving a vast amount of fabri-

cated and manufactured material and distributing it as required to a long line of shipways on which is going on simultaneous construction of many similar ships—at the same time providing shops through which will pass, without interference with the fabricated material, that proportion of the ships' frames and fittings which requires manufacture at the yard.

The way in which this problem is being solved at each of the three yards is set forth in detail in the article from which we are quoting. Two of the plants will include housing and commissary arrangements for

great armies of workmen, and one, the Hog Island yard, include the interesting adjunct of a shipbuilders' school. Recruits at this school will be paid 30 cents an hour while learning the details of ship erection, and will be put through an intensive six weeks' course before being turned over to the real shipbuilding work as qualified workmen.

Substantial progress has been made in the construction of all three yards. The one at Bristol is the nearest to completion.

MADAME ADAM, FEMINIST

THE enfranchisement of women in several States—and their probable national enfranchisement in the near future by the passage of the Federal Amendment granting nation-wide suffrage to women, has called the attention of the public to the careers of brilliant women who have been recognized leaders of serious movements, and whose activities have been inextricably interwoven with politics.

The most commanding figure among such women to-day is Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber)—novelist, essayist, nationalist, political leader—and from 1879 to 1899 the editor of La Nouvelle Revue. Madame Adam is not a suffragist, however. She

writes:

I am not a suffragette, because I am an antiparliamentarian. I desire to see great professional councils, of which, without any alteration in the law, women in France may become members. We have women bankers, women farmers and women traders. A great national council, composed not of men chosen by provincial councils and of exceptional women, would not present the lamentable spectacle offered by the parliaments of to-day.

Miss Winifred Stephens, who has long enjoyed the rare privilege of Madame Adam's friendship, has written a most comprehensive account of her varied and spectacular career¹—which shows the influence a woman of integrity of character, political insight and brilliant mentality may wield on national affairs.

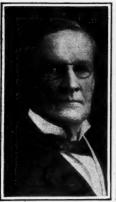
Madame Adam was born in the little Picard town of Verherie, on the 4th of October, in 1836. Her mental development can be roughly divided into three phases: her childhood, when she was swayed between the influences of her father and grandmother; her middle life, when she was in entire sympathy with her father's opinions, and her later years, when she returned more or less to her grandmother's points of view. Her father was a Social Democrat who dreamed of absolute liberty, equality, and in the days of the Commune believed that his dream was realized. Mme. Seron, the grandmother, was a liberal monarchist, firmly convinced that a constitutional monarchy was the only form of government. Thus the precocious child grew up feeding upon the intense political discussions of two persons entirely in disagreement as to the fundamental principles of government.

"But," writes Juliette at the age of eleven, "I did not yawn, for my mind was interested in all matters political and literary."

To write Mme. Adam's biography is also to write one of the most momentous chapters of French history. For this remarkable woman has lived through the revolution of 1848, the coup d'etat of 1851, the agony of the siege of Paris, the civil war of the Commune, and two invasions of her beloved patrie.

As the mistress of a leading political salon, as the founder and editor for twenty years of an influential fortnightly magazine, La Nouvelle Revue, as for many years the intimate friend of Gambetta, of Thiers, of other French ministers, of the representatives of foreign powers and of such eminent French writers as George Sand, Flaubert, Victor Hugo, Alphonse Daudet, Pierre Loti, Paul Bourget, and Maurice Barres, she has not only kept her finger on the pulse of her great nation, but she has to some extent modulated its heartbeats.

¹Madame Adam. By Winifred Stephens. E. P. Dutton Co. 255 pp. Ill. \$4.







SIR ERIC GEDDES (First Lord Admiralty)



SIR JOSEPH MACLAY (Shipping Controller)



SIR A. H. STANLEY (President Board of Trade) FOUR OF THE BIG BUSINESS MEN WHO ARE NOW RUNNING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

GREAT BRITAIN'S "BOARD OF **DIRECTORS**"

PERHAPS Americans do not yet fully realize how completely the business talents of the British Empire have been commandeered by the government for the purpose of winning the war, and how generally the old familiar type of British statesman and office-holder in administrative posts has been displaced by the business manager as we know him in America.

Writing in the Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia) for January 12, Isaac F. Marcosson likens the British Cabinet at the present time to "a board of directors recruited from industrial pursuits that could sit on any problem of overhead cost and distribution that came up."

Not only have the British captains of industry left their desks and counting rooms, as Americans of corresponding rank in the business world have done, to help the government by their advice, but practically every important war activity in England is either dominated or controlled by such men. who are characterized by Mr. Marcosson as "drivewheels of the mighty machine of war."

The two most capable and conspicuous members of this group got their first practical training, as Mr. Marcosson points out, in the United States, and with typical American corporations. The name of Sir Eric Geddes, known as England's "handy man," has become known in all the Allied countries as second only to Premier Lloyd George as a directing force in England at this time of crisis. He has reached this commanding position within two years and at the age of forty-two.

Born in India of Scotch parents, Geddes came to America in the steerage when he was seventeen. His father had given him a check for \$75 to be used for his return passage, but when he got to New York he mailed back the check, saying in one of his characteristically brief letters: "I think it will do me good to go on my own." Geddes started out with \$10 in his pocket and soon got a job as a typewriter salesman in New Then he drifted to Pittsburgh, worked at the Homestead Steel Works for \$1.50 a day, and at last got work as a section hand on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad in West Virginia. There he began to study train dispatching and telegraphy, and in time became the agent at Nicolette station.

With a keen desire to see America, Geddes went to Alabama, worked as a lumberjack, and learned the lumber business at first hand. When he was twenty-one he sailed for Australia, worked there as a sheepherder, and turned up a year later in India, where the knowledge of railroading that he had gained in America enabled him to become foreman of a gang of coolies building a light railway through the jungles. Within five years he was traffic manager of one of the Indian railroads, and from that post it was only a step to the management of the great North-Eastern Railway system of England.

He was practically head of the system when the Great War broke out.

His rapid advancement and the extraordinary facility with which he has gone from one executive post to another since May, 1915, when he was made Deputy Director-General of Munitions, are matters of current newspaper record, After Lloyd George succeeded Kitchener as Secretary of State for War, Geddes was made Director of Military Railways and Director-General of Transportation in France, and his former railway experience at once came into play in building the light railways to bring supplies and ammunition to the firing-line. Then he was needed in the Admiralty and "became the only civilian in all history who could wear, if it were possible, a Major-General's and a Vice-Admiral's uniform at the same time." Since the retirement of Sir Edward Carson, Geddes has been First Lord of the Admiralty, and there are those who believe he is destined for the Premiership.

The career of Sir Eric Geddes has been strikingly paralleled by that of Sir Albert Stanley, who was brought to America by his parents when he was eleven and was educated in American schools. At sixteen he

was an office-boy with the Detroit United Railways; at twenty-two he was superintendent of the property; at twenty-eight he was general manager of the Public Service Railways of New Jersey; a few years later he was general manager of the Underground Railways of London. Stanley merged all of London's local transportation lines, applying lessons that he had learned in America. When the war broke out he was needed as Director-General of Mechanical Transport. As president of the Board of Trade, he has become the chief "promoter" of the British Empire.

Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, became well known in America three years ago as D. A. Thomas, then the Welsh coal king, and perhaps the richest man in the United Kingdom, who had been sent here as a sort of censor of munition contracts. It is said that he saved the British Government hundreds of millions of dollars. He went home by the Lusitania when she made her last trip, was in the water for three hours, and was saved by his strength

and skill as a swimmer.

Sir Joseph Maclay, Shipping Controller, is another self-made magnate of business.

THE FUEL ADMINISTRATION'S TASK



THE INADEQUATE SHOVEL From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

ON the evening of December 14, 1917, the Hon. Harry A. Garfield, United States Fuel Administrator, delivered an address, as presiding officer, before the Academy of Political Science at New York City. This address, which is now published in the "Proceedings" of the Academy, states "some of the fundamental facts with which those engaged in the Fuel Administration are called upon to deal."

One of the most significant of these facts, as brought out by Mr. Garfield, is that in the past twenty years the United States has trebled its coal output, the production of anthracite and bituminous expanding from 200,000,000 tons to 630,000,000 tons. The production indeed has greatly outrun the increase in population. The existing coal shortage is accounted for by the enormously increased consumption for industrial purposes. The small amounts exported—from terially to produce the shortage. Mr. Garfield estimates that the steam coal used by the railroads and the industrial enterprises

of the country, great and small, makes about 70 per cent. of the total. Twenty-four per cent. of our annual production of bituminous coal is used by the railroads and about 16 per cent. for domestic purposes. Of the anthracite, about 75 per cent. is used for do-

mestic purposes.

In 1916 more bituminous coal was produced than ever before—502,500,000 tons—while in 1917 the product was 50,000,000 tons greater. Leaving the war out of account, this 10 per cent. growth would be about normal, and in order to take care of the extra growth of our industries and the war demands Mr. Garfield estimates that we should have something like 50,000,000 additional tons. We are actually producing about 1,800,000 tons per day, and we cannot meet our added needs by added production. All that we can do at this time is to conserve our supply.

The greatest factor in the entire situation, as Mr. Garfield fully recognizes, is transportation. In normal years thirty-five freight cars out of every hundred are filled with coal, but at present the proportion is much less. During the present season the allotment of cars has fallen to 11, 10, and even 7 per cent. of normal. Car shortage has



YOU SLACKER! From the World (New York)

prevented operators in the bituminous regions alone from shipping out 20,000,000 tons of coal. This is partly because cars are being used for other commodities.

Our readers will note the article contributed to this number of the Review by Mr. Harrington Emerson on a different phase of the coal situation.

SCIENCE AT THE FRONT

AST spring a commission of six American scientists was sent to Europe by the National Research Council to investigate the application of science to war, as illustrated on the Western Front. The chairman of this commission was Professor Joseph F. Ames, who has been for many years at the head of the Department of Physics at Johns Hopkins University. The results of Professor Ames' observation are to be given in a series of articles contributed to the Atlantic Monthly. The first of these appears in the January number.

These American scientists were eagerly welcomed by their French and British colaborers, with many of whom they were already personally acquainted. Every opportunity was given them both at Paris and at London to see laboratories, factories, testing grounds and every form of apparatus through which science is coöperating with the military power in the stupendous effort that is being made by the Allies to win the war. The American commissioners were impressed by the growing influence of science

in the shaping of military movements. In some instances they were greatly surprised to find that professors of pure science were attached to military staffs and were contributing in an important way to plans for actual field work.

For example, a famous geologist was found at headquarters studying and marking areas on a geological map of Flanders. On this professor's table was a map of the district directly east of Ypres. He was coloring certain areas red and others various shades of blue. He was also marking certain points and drawing a few straight lines. When Professor Ames asked what it all meant he found that one color signified, "Here it is safe to make dugouts"; another, "Here you will strike rock"; another, "Look out for quicksands." The points meant, "Dig for water" and the straight lines, "Here you may make tunnels or burrow mines." One reason given for the great success of the British operations at the Messines Ridge, when fifty or more mines were exploded, was the skill of the geologist who

planned their location; for in some cases they were so surrounded by quicksands that the

Germans could not countermine.

In the department of chemistry, the British and French scientists have been strikingly successful in dealing with the problem of poisonous gases. The soldier's only protection against these gases is a mask that may be put on quickly and which is so constructed mechanically that the man can breathe in and out without strangling. It was put up to the chemist to determine what substance should be put in the passages through which the air is inhaled so as to absorb the poisonous gases. The way in which this problem was solved, says Professor Ames, excites the admiration of the world and the real scientific work done in connection with it is declared to be a great contribution to pure science.

In his own field of physics Professor Ames was impressed by the great relative importance of acoustics in the war, but there are many applications of other branches of physics especially in the phenomena of light and electricity. Professor Ames describes the sight of an airplane spotting the fire of thirteen inch guns, the firing of the guns in order by directions from the air, the speedy reaching of the target, and the consequent destruction of the enemy battery twelve miles away! "Science was used every second: signals to the airplanes, wireless messages back, and the aiming of the guns with all the accuracy of geodesy." In all these applications of science to war-making Professor Ames declares that the Allies have a marked superiority over the Germans.

How About Our Own Aircraft?

As to the utilization of science for military purposes in America, Professor Ames seems less confident. In a recent letter to the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, published in the "Contributors' Column" of the January number he says:

I have just returned from a visit to the aircraft works in Buffalo, Detroit and Dayton. This was an official visit and so I have seen everything there is to be seen in regard to our aircraft program. . . . The Liberty motor is coming along splendidly, and it is going to be a great success. But we are not going to have any mechanics competent to repair it. It takes longer to train a mechanic than a pilot. Major Vincent, the man who designed the motor, told me that it would be over a year before we could hope to have mechanics even in small numbers. So far we have made one airplane suitable for use in Europe. The manufacturer assured me that his company could not be on a production program until after the first of July.

We are having a large number of school planes made but there are no engines for these. The man who was entrusted with the work has fallen down completely. Even if we were to have the school planes ready we do not have one-tenth the requisite number of teachers, and cannot hope to

get them for six months.

It is very hard to place one's finger on the man or committee responsible for this condition. As far as I could see, the evil is a fundamental one. This country and its officials are possessed with the idea that everything must be labeled "made in America," and the difficulties into which we are now running are those which any man might have foreseen. As a matter of fact, within three days after my return from Europe in June I made this whole matter the subject of my report to the Aircraft Production Committee. No one believed me, and although I had a good solution it was refused.

THE USES OF GEOLOGY IN WAR

IN the foregoing article allusion is made to the importance of the work assigned to

geologists on the Western Front.

Our Department of State recently made public certain German censorship regulations in which the German Government made known what German newspapers are allowed to print and also what they are prohibited from publishing. One of the prohibited paragraphs, dated May 25, 1917, contained the following:

The publications which permit to be recognized the effectiveness of *geology* or kindred sciences in service of the army are not permissible in the technical as well as in the daily press.

An interesting article entitled, "Scientific

Warfare, or Geology and Its Importance in Modern War," published in German newspapers, was reproduced in the New York Staats-Zeitung of November 27, 1917. A sapper officer, Captain Kranz, in Strassburg, who has given much attention to geological problems, called attention to the great importance of geology in modern warfare. Taking Captain Kranz' studies as a basis, in a recent address made for the benefit of the German Red Cross, Professor W. Salomon, head of the Geological-Palæontological Institute of the University of Heidelberg, summarized the advantages of geological knowledge for a modern army as follows:

It enables the erection of firm supports in

the construction of barricades, trenches and fortresses. For when field positions are to be made it is of enormous advantage to select the most firm material, and if possible to compel the enemy to dig himself in less suitable ground. Equally necessary is the rapidity shown in digging trenches and passages for the laying of mines. The present war as never before has demonstrated that it is locally of decisive importance whether in a few minutes a troop has succeeded digging in, to protect itself from the infantry fire of the enemy. It must be clear that such action is only possible in loose boulders.

Geological knowledge has also made possible the construction of drinking-water plants. For with the impossibility of bringing drinking water to the field positions during the day, and difficulty during night, it is of great importance that it be obtainable on the local spot. The removal of rain water and sewage from the ditches, trenches,

and fortresses is also a factor. One of the health-injuring phenomena experienced by German troops in Northern France and Belgium during the rainy season of the winter has been the extended accumulation of large quantities of water in the trenches. In many places conditions were bettered by pumping out the water. But as Kranz has shown in his writings, the geologist can relieve the situation by digging with a hand-borer for a few minutes, or, owing to his knowledge of the condition of the ground, he can be certain that at a certain depth a pervious laver of sand or loose rock is to be found. In such a case, by building narrow shafts, or by laying drainage pipes, the water can percolate into deeper strata, and thus drain the trenches.

Geological knowledge made possible the securing of certain raw minerals, needed for war purposes, formerly imported and now found in Germany.

AMERICAN CENSORSHIP IN FRANCE

WHICH nation is maintaining the strictest censorship in this war? A correspondent of the New York Tribune, Mr. Heywood Broun, writing under date of December 23, asserts that with the possible exception of Germany and Turkey that nation is the United States. The brilliant methods adopted for "keeping information from the Germans" are illustrated by the handling of news about the Rainbow Division since its arrival in France. Some time after the division had landed, the censor permitted the statement to go to America that "certain units of the Guard of almost all the States are now in France."

Of course, the German Intelligence Department knew that the Rainbow division was in France, but if it was still ignorant of the fact that the message suggested by the censor gave it away. That is, it gave it away to the German intelligence officer who made a study of our military system and knew that "certain units of the Guard of almost all the states" must be the Rainbow Division. At the same time, the average newspaper reader in America would be deceived by the camouflage.

The German papers get news of the American army long before it is freed for publication back home. And much of it remains exclusive. For instance, German newspapers printed again and again the fact that American troops were training in the Vosges, and French papers carried the names of some of the towns, but nothing was said to America, and nothing can be said yet.

In every other country political censorship is kept distinct from military censorship, but any American news that goes out from



THE AMERICAN EAGLE WON'T SCREAM ON SKIM MILK!

From Collier's (New York)

France must pass a military censor, however remote its connection with the Army may be. Mr. Broun's contention is that the censor should be a civilian independent of military control except in army news.

It is interesting to have, from a newspaper correspondent, a statement as to the kind of matter that he would forbid publication if he had the censor's job. Mr. Broun would begin with the weekly summaries of news issued by our own War Department! These have been condemned, he says, by "a high officer in the American Army." They have minimized the enemy's gains and then after these could no longer be concealed have predicted a big German offensive just at a time of despondency on the part of the This correspondent also blames the censor (somewhat illogically, perhaps) for much of the "absurd optimism" that has colored dispatches to American papers.

Mr. Broun assails the censorship not only

for what it has prevented correspondents from saying, but also for what it has permitted them to say. He admits that "we newspaper men have overplayed every slight piece of news to such an extent that the French and English laugh at us." As a case in point Mr. Broun cites the story of a patrol by American and French soldiers, a routine patrol such as takes place at hundreds of points along the line every night, which was printed in one New York newspaper under a two-column headline, "American Troops Go Over the Top."

After thousands of words had been sent to the home papers about the solitary German captured by the Americans the French began to joke American comrades about the affair, asking, "How is your prisoner to-day?"

In Collier's (New York) for January 12, Mr. Wythe Williams, also writing from France, expresses opinions of the censorship similar to those of Mr. Broun.

THE FIASCO OF THE GERMAN POLICY IN POLAND

GERMANY'S policy in Poland is at present being widely discussed by the press of Germany. The German journals complain bitterly of the irreconcilability of the Poles, and admit openly that in the Polish policy the German Government has suffered an indubitable loss,

The behavior of the Poles of all the three divisions of the former Polish Republic and of the Poles abroad, with the exception of a mere handful, has evinced that the Polish nation has not accepted as the realization of its aims the act of November 5, 1916, by which Germany and Austria created the so-called independent Kingdom of Poland; the behavior of the Polish nation has shown that its demands extend farther—that Poland does not want to become a small mutilated subject state in the German scheme of "Mittel Europa," but that she wishes to be united, whole, and great.

The act of November 5, 1916, failed to incorporate with the kingdom of Poland any part of the old Polish Republic but the Russian part. Russian Poland, despite so long a period of unparalleled misfortune and sufferings, assumed an attitude of passive resistance, and has maintained this attitude with dignity and gravity. The creation of

a Polish army by this visionary Kingdom of Poland upon which the Central Powers had so much relied has not come to effect. The Polish nation has not given, and voluntarily will not give, soldiers to the Germans. The meagre band of Polish volunteers that arose in Austrian Poland in 1914 to fight against Russia for the independence of Poland has refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Teutonic Emperors: and to-day. whether incorporated into the Austrian army or disarmed, the Polish Legionaries must share the lot of the prisoners of war. free knights of so-called free Poland are under German guard, and the creator of the Polish Legions and their brave chief, Gen. Joseph Pilsudzki, is in Prussian captivity.

Austrian Poland, which has been restricted relatively least of all, has definitely declared in resolutions adopted by chambers of deputies and approved by the expressions of cities, universities, alliances, and representatives of all parties, for an independent, united, entire Poland with access to the sea.

Ill-humor provoked by what is called "Polish ingratitude" is expressed daily in Germany with renewed force. In vain do the Catholic journals preach moderation. On all sides there is proclaimed the fiasco of

the Polish policy of ex-Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg; yet though some journals accuse the German Government itself, it is the "ungrateful Poles" that are assailed most violently by the great majority. To the Conservative Junker press the policy of the Central Powers seems more and more dangerous, as the creation of "independent" Poland imperils the Germanization of Prussian Poland. With what exasperation the German press to-day talks of the Poles and how haughtily it addresses them, a few eloquent examples will amply illustrate:

The Deutsche Tageszeitung states that agreeably to the opinion of the German military authorities, the German frontiers on the East must absolutely undergo a change; and Courland, after this war, ought at least to constitute territory for German colonization. An entirely different question is, what will become of Poland. Germany cannot justify the least interest in the deliverance of the Kingdom of Poland.

We Germans are interested here solely in a secured frontier of the German state, within the limits of which all should be German. Beyond that, this chick hatched by the Chancellor of the German Empire, should be left in peace to its fate, whether it wishes to become self-active or to return to Russia.

The Koelnische Zeitung, in an article about the resolution adopted unanimously on May 28, at a meeting in Cracow, Austrian Poland, of the deputies to the Austrian Parliament and the Galician Diet, demanding an independent, unified Poland with access to the sea-that is, with Austrian Poland and Prussian Poland, including Dantzic, the old Polish port on the Baltic-says that it must be regarded as "childishness and effrontery" to demand of Germany and Austria parts of their states under pretext of their having once been Polish:

The defeat of the Russians at Tannenberg and on the Masurian lakes, and the battles that ensued in consequence of the breaking of the Russian front at Gorlice, were effected, first of all, in the interest of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the circumstance that they contributed at the same time to the initiation of the liberation of Poland cannot be for us a reason for the return of all the territory beyond the Vistula delivered from the Russians to Poland-and this to a Poland that according to the Cracow resolutions does not know how to show us gratitude, but, with an arbitrary gesture, is astonished that she does not get still more. This is arrogance that compels us to recall that the die for the final fortunes of Poland has not yet been cast, and the words that have fallen in Cracow cannot encourage the two governments occupying Poland

to proceed along the road indicated by the act of November 5, 1916.

In the course of barely a year and a half of occupation the Teutonic Powers have accomplished in Poland a quite important preparatory work for the future state, declares this journal. Without this forework, the Poles would not be able to make one step towards the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland; and to-day this state is not only "free and independent," but is also able to carry on trade.

Let the Poles beware lest the rising state sustain loss through the fact that a group of wanton politicians do not recognize and do not want to recognize the conditions under which the old dreams of liberty and independence can be fulfilled. It was not Polish forces that gave body to these dreams, but the powers victorious in the world war, Germany and Austria. It is our duty in sight of the fallen and in sight of the future of our Fatherland to see to it that Poland should not again become the scene of Russian attacks against us, and further, that in the new Poland there should not arise a state that on our flank would menace us more dangerously than Russia. If the game started in Cracow shall continue, there will be taken into consideration as well in Germany as in Austria-Hungary whether the heads in which sober judgment has been muddled to this degree by liberty can be entrusted with the further reconstruction of Poland, which before Nov. 5, 1916, was regarded as possible.

The Berliner Tageblatt observes:

The idea of Polish nationality, which has been a weapon of which we have made use for combating our enemies and defending our frontiers, has become for the future of Germany the most dangerous project. The Polish question is really the most important for us, in war as well as in peace-much more important than the fate of Belgium or of Albania. On it depends the future of eastern Prussia as a great power and, in consequence of that, the future of the Empire.

The Deutsche Zeitung, one of the principal Conservative and anti-Polish organs, refuses absolutely to admit that in the present circumstances the German Government may be disposed to organize definitely the Polish state. It is true that in the kind note published by the German Government the Poles were allowed to hope that their state would soon take its place in the rank of the autonomous nations of Europe.

Fortunately, there are many ways of comprehending the autonomy of a state. But we Germans have, in this regard, a view different from that of other peoples. We do not want to give the Poles an appearance of autonomy; we shall grant them solely the right to administer themselves in the measure in which they have need of it to develop their national qualities, without putting our fatherland in peril.

THE NEW INDUSTRY OF FUR FARMING



TAMED MINK

(The mink was one of the first fur bearers to be domesticated, and was propagated successfully in the State of New York fifty years ago. If taken young it is tamed easily, but owing to its capricious temper it becomes dangerous to handle as it grows old)

CONSULAR reports and magazine articles of five years ago furnished some tantalizing reading to those people whom invidious circumstances prevented from migrating to Prince Edward Island to embark in the lucrative business of "fox ranching." This novel industry had then reached the stage of prodigiously inflated prices. The imagination of plodding mortals in other parts of the world was fired with tales of fox cubs sold for breeding purposes at \$15,000 a pair. Indeed a company whose stock-in-trade was a single pair of these animals would be capitalized at \$18,000 to \$20,000, and pay good dividends on the investment.

The industry still flourishes, but it has come down to earth, and it has spread from its original focus over a wide area. Farming for furs, not only of foxes, but of various other animals, has now become a stable and normal occupation, destined to assume large proportions by a process of healthy growth. Just where it now stands is explained in the American Museum Journal (New York) by Mr. Ned Dearborn, assistant in the U. S. Biological Survey. Mr. Dearborn is our leading authority on this subject, and is the author of a Farmers' Bulletin on "The Domesticated Silver Fox," published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in March, 1917.

Some sixty million dollars' worth of North American furs are marketed annually in the United States and England. No wonder that the number of fur bearers is steadily decreasing. Driven farther into the wilderness by the advance of the farmer, they are followed into almost inaccessible regions by the trapper, who is urged on by the stimulus of high prices. It is evident, therefore, that the demand for furs before many years will exceed the supply, unless this supply can be increased by artificial propagation.

To meet these conditions a new industry is springing up—that of fur farming, or the raising of fur-bearing animals in captivity. Generally speaking, fur-bearing animals are easily domes-

Experiments have been carried on for some years, until now success with at least a few animals is assured, while others are being tested with good results. About one-half the fur bearers of North America seem suitable for domestication, and of these the mink, the skunk, and the silver fox have been bred successfully in many parts of the United States and Canada. Among those which have been only partly tested for this purpose are the marten, fisher, otter, blue fox, raccoon, and beaver. Experiments, however, have been sufficiently conclusive in most cases to predict ultimate success with these animals also.

The first of the wild fur bearers to be domesticated in this country was the mink, whose soft, dark brown fur is one of the most durable as well as most beautiful. It is nearly fifty years since a man in Oneida County, New York, began to breed and sell minks for propagation. In those days it was a profitable undertaking, the skins being high priced and the live animals bringing \$30 a pair. Later, owing to a period of financial depression, the business became unprofitable and was abandoned. After being almost forgotten as a money-making industry, it has been revived and, where conditions have been favorable, has proved more than satisfactory to those engaged in it.

A fur bearer peculiar to the Western Hemisphere, the finest specimens being found in the United States, is the skunk. Its glistening black fur of medium length is very attractive and has a ready sale notwithstanding the fact that long use causes it to fade to a reddish brown color. This animal, so commonly found even in well-settled districts, was first tried for domestication about thirty years ago. To-day the number of skunk breeders in this country is greater than that of all the other breeders of fur animals combined. This pretty animal is easily tamed and, aside from its one objectionable feature, the offensive scent glands, which can be removed easily, makes quite as pleasing a pet as a kitten. The trade in skunk furs alone amounts in the United States to three million dollars a year.

The silver or silver-gray fox, now permanently domesticated, is found over the greater part of the United States and Canada. High-grade skins of this animal are worth from

\$1000 to \$2000 each. Fox ranches are now found in most of the Canadian provinces and in about fourteen States and Territories of the United States.

Mr. Dearborn sets forth in some detail the conditions of location, management, feeding, etc., which must be fulfilled to ensure success in fur farming, and points a few of the improvements that have already been secured in some degree by selective breeding.

Within sixteen years of the time the two pioneer fox breeders of Prince Edward Island built their ranch they had eliminated the tendency of the silver foxes to produce red progeny and were sending to market the finest fox pelts in the world. As with poultry, horses, and other farm animals, so it is with fur bearers. Each breeder should strive to perfect his stock according to some standard.

EXPLORING AND PROSPECTING BY AEROPLANE

NE of the many uses to which, when the present turmoil is over, the world will put its huge air fleet is plausibly set forth in Flying (New York) by a veteran American explorer, Mr. R. H. Millward. His idea, in its general aspects, is by no means a new one; the undertakings he forecasts have been talked about for some years. but always in the future tense. Readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will recall the plans that have been laid to explore the interior of New Guinea by balloon and the polar regions by aeroplane. The new note in Mr. Millward's article is the emphasis he lays upon aerial methods of exploration as a means of developing the resources of regions now cut off from civilization by natural barriers, and incidentally of improving the condition of their inhabitants. He speaks with the authority derived from long experience in prospecting according to the methods heretofore in use.

South and Central America are particularly rich in precious minerals, hardwoods, gums, fibers, tanning and dyeing materials and medicinal plants, and the development of these commodities has been but superficial in character. Exploration work has been carried on only in the most primitive manner, and the results have been slow and discouraging. Where explorers have required years to cover certain stretches of jungle lands but weeks will be necessary with the aid of the aeroplane. In the future, reports upon concessions will be made by explorers, in cooperation with the aviator, and expeditions will no longer prove to be so costly and fruitless as they have in the past.

An important source of that scarce and costly metal, platinum, is a certain remote locality in Colombia, where the industry is in the hands of a few Armenians, who secure by barter from the Indians, at the rate of about two dollars an ounce, a metal which

sells at \$125 in the world's markets. The aeroplane would serve to break up this monopoly and would greatly benefit the now mercilessly exploited natives.

The mahogany industry is an excellent example where aircraft can be used to great advantage. These valuable hardwood trees are found in jungle lands and it is difficult to make rapid headway in locating the stand and estimating its relative density. In the exploration of mahogany there has been practically no advance or improvement of any kind made in the method of procedure for over a hundred years and the same daily routine obtains to-day as in the time of our great-great-forefathers. Expeditions are fitted out, at great expense, for cruises of long duration, and the operation of locating and measuring the stands is most tedious in character.

Men of unusual strength and endurance are required in opening up of a jungle country and only those who have been bred to the axe and machete will survive. The distance covered in a day varies, of course, according to the density of the jungle growth. We have made as little as two miles in a single day and have covered as high as thirty-three miles, where thin forests or open savannah or marsh lands have been encountered. In mapping the Department of Peten in Guatemala, the greater part of five years was required, under the methods then obtaining; but I am convinced that the same results could have been secured with the aid of an aeroplane in less than four months. Spotting mahogany trees and determining the relative density of their growth can be ascertained by aeroplane in from 5 to 10 per cent. of the time required by the method now employed.

Essentially the work of an explorer is that of making a preliminary survey of a region and determining its value from either a scientific or commercial standpoint. Mahogany trees can readily be spotted by their foliage rather than by their trunks and the trained explorer will be enabled to determine the value of a given tract, with the aid of an aeroplane, and see at a glance whether or not it would be profitable to work. In this manner hundreds of acres could be cruised each day and all waste and barren lands quickly eliminated from any further consideration. Numerous base camps, now necessary for the support of an expedition, would be dispensed with

and a great unnecessary expense saved. It is conservative to estimate that this class of exploration can be carried on by aeroplane at from 5

to 10 per cent. of the present cost.

During a heavy rainy season along the Rio Pasion in the Department of Peten, in 1913, fortythree men died of dysentery and malignant malarial fever. This would not have occurred had I been able to get medical supplies by aeroplane. I have covered on foot over twenty thousand miles of jungle lands and spent the greater part of twenty-one years of my life in the task. I am satisfied that I could have covered the same distance and accomplished the same results, with the aid of an aeroplane, in two years of exploration.

STRIKING AND WAR-MAKING

BETWEEN April 6, the date of America's entrance in the World War and the close of the year 1917 the newspapers have reported about three thousand strikes and labor difficulties, most of them affecting industries engaged in the manufacture of war materials. In this number were included many unimportant strikes which lasted only a short time and involved only a few men. But it is asserted by Mr. Burton J. Hendrick in Collier's for January 12 that in the last half of 1917 about one million American workingmen have left their work for shorter or longer intervals. Here are some of the instances:

There were thirty-three strikes or labor difficulties among the men who built our army cantonments. Similar troubles delayed construction at our great aviation fields, at our Federal arsenals, at naval hospitals, and at our navy yards. A majority of the makers of munitions have had more or less trouble with their men. It had been planned to build destroyers by the hundreds to be used in fighting submarines, but the construction of the greatest of the new destroyer plants has been delayed for months because of strikes over the open shop. Longshoremen have quit work at the New Orleans and New York docks on ships being loaded with supplies for our soldiers in France. Strikes in shipyards have kept idle for a longer or shorter time 25,000 men in San Francisco, 25,000 in Seattle, 4000 in Portland, Ore., 35,000 in and around New York, 12,000 in Norfolk, and 9500 in Washington, D. C. Lumbermen whose product is needed for our wooden ships and airplanes have quit work to the number of 4000 men in Oregon and Washington.

Although copper is indispensable in making ammunition, nearly 25,000 men have held up operations in the copper mines of Arizona, California, and Montana. Strikes in our coal mines have involved 128,000 men. In the industries providing clothing for our army 7000 khaki weavers have struck and

about 25,000 shoemakers. Nearly 10,000 of the Omaha and Kansas City packers who are engaged in preparing food for the soldiers have temporarily quit work. These are only a few of the trades engaged in producing war material which have suffered interruptions of production due to labor difficulties. The making of the famous "caterpillar" tractors at Peoria for military "tanks" was delayed for nearly three months by an attempt to unionize the plant.

Shipbuilding has been greatly retarded al-

ready and is likely to suffer still further interruption from strikes for extra wages. Mr. Hendrick is inclined to attribute much of this trouble to the fact that many contracts were let last summer to shipbuilders on the "cost-plus" system and the workmen have assumed that in demanding additional wages they were simply asking the contractor to take the increase out of Uncle Sam. The increased cost of living has, of course, afforded legitimate grounds for higher pay in many instances. But whatever may have been the merits of these demands for increased wages, the fact is that at the present time the workers in American shipyards probably represent the highest paid skilled labor in the world. Mr Hendrick finds that "riveters and fitters who are earning \$90 or \$100 a week are scarcely the exceptions." With an enormous demand for la-

Somehow this labor situation will have to be dealt with. England, in a similar crisis, passed a law declaring strikes illegal and punishing with life imprisonment anyone who incited to a strike. The same law gave the Minister of Munitions power to control munition factories and limited the profits of manufacturers to one-fifth more than the average of the two years preceding the war. The unions agreed on their part to accept the wages existing at the time of the agreement with a proviso to increase them

bor and a great scarcity, these men have

simply taken advantage of a business

opportunity.

if necessary three times a year in accordance with the increased cost of living.

These increases are paid, not by the manufacturers, but by the Government. The unions abandoned all their restrictions—

limitation of output and apprentices, employment of women, etc. At the end of the war, the understanding is that the old standards will be automatically revived. Such an agreement might not work here.

A FRENCH ESTIMATE OF RODIN

THE recent death of the illustrious French sculptor lends a fresh interest to studies of his work and character. The opening article of the December Mercure de France (Paris) analyzes the man and his achievements, and points out his limitations as well as his powers.

Rodin, M. Morice observes, is a perfect epitome of a half-century of life and art. Future generations will by his work be able to form a just idea of the value of those fifty years of keen desire and agitation. It may seem strange that an artist, pure and simple, should have such significance, and he himself would have been reluctant to admit it. A critic should not in an artist's life-time hamper him; when dead, precautions are needless. Rodin can stand the truth, and we owe it to him to tell it.

The works of an artist mark the stages of his life. Those of Rodin reveal his inner self more profoundly than would a direct confession.

The trials which beset Rodin's youth and pursued him to the eve of old age left an indelible impress upon him—he could not forgive Fate for all the time lost, for having to undertake too late a neglected culture. His very real intuitive and reasoning powers were clouded by a spirit of mistrust; he had a poor knowledge of men, knew not how to draw out the purest in them.

His master quality was a feeling for Nature. All his gifts reached their acme when that came into play. There are artists who hold that not everything in Nature is beautiful—that feeling put Rodin beside himself. "Everything in Nature," he claimed, "has absolute beauty. No flower, no cloud is ugly." A simple doctrine, from which he never swerved. His first remarkable work, "The Man with the Broken Nose," is a strict application of his theory. Rodin persuaded himself that the artist has no right to correct life the beauty of an attitude lies in its truth. He did not accept the word ideal in any sense; believed the artist should kneel eternally before the material world. That was his theory, but in reality his worship of Nature embraced an infinitude of thoughts, and he wrought with intelligence and devotion in her service.

In 1877 his "Age of Bronze" was exhibited in the Salon. It is essentially realistic, but still smacks of the studio. From 1882

to '97 we have the series of grand figures, decorative as well as realistic: "Eve," "The Kiss," "Ugolino and His Sons," and other colossal figures, the "Bourgeois de Calais" standing out as the most complete expression of the master's thoughts. In 1900, at the Exposition, Rodin displayed an enormous number of his works. That date marks the end of public and official resistance. He enters definitely the path of unclouded glory.

The number of Rodin's productions is legion. They would account for the ceaseless activity of many lives. "I am a man," he remarked, "whose life is not long enough to complete my thoughts."

Those familiar with Rodin's perpetual struggle in the cause of art must salute him as a hero: a hero, a conqueror, and a savior—struggling, too, thirty years or more under distressing material conditions. Let us ever gratefully remember that he freed sculpture from its academic tutelage.

The fragmentary aspect of much of Rodin's work has aroused innumerable controversies. In using that method the artist draws the spectator's attention exclusively to a certain point, thus declaring his ambition to be limited to that point. And that is what Rodin has done.

Sensibility, sentiment, the life of the soul, in short, are rarely found in Rodin's work: it is there where his wings fail hm. And it is thus, as a materialist, that he harmonizes so wonderfully with his epoch. It is not disparaging the artist to say that he exhibited traces of his time. It is evident that that time was obsessed by "Nature" in its material aspects. He submitted, then accepted, then glorified that tyranny.

A confused protest against atheism, internationalism, pessimism, greeted the opening of the 20th century: we hear its formidable echoes in the Great War, where so many things dead are resuscitated. It was not Rodin's fate to participate in this awakening of idealist thought. His nature forbade him to react directly against the fatalities of his time. He detested it, but felt himself part of it, and bowed in advance to his successors, whom he adjured to heighten the glory of life.

Rodin has been reproached for not rallying youth about him, to direct and lead it. Though his speech was at times singularly luminous, he could not count upon it; he had not the gift of exposition. He could only work; by his productions alone could he teach the world. And that he did.

JAPAN AND DEMOCRACY

T is quite possible for an empire to be thoroughly democratic in essential principles, as witness the British Empire. Equally true is it, however paradoxical it may seem, that a republic may be flagrantly autocratic, as none could deny who knew Mexico under Diaz. Yet it is natural enough that President Wilson's recent pronunciamento that the chief aim of the present war is to make the world safe for democracy, should rouse discussion not only in the Central Powers of Europe, but among those of our allies who retain the imperial form of The Mercure de France government. (Paris) is our authority for stating that this question was recently raised in the Japanese Chamber of Deputies by certain representatives, but that the government refused to make it a subject of debate. The same magazine proceeds to quote some interesting remarks upon this theme, from the pen of Professor Foukouda Tokouzo, of the University of Keio, in Information d'Extrême-Orient ("Information of the Far East"):

That the autocracy of Germany is a very outof-date system is the opinion of many Germans themselves, as is proved by the dispatches we are at present receiving from Europe concerning the political crisis in Berlin. Among us, in Japan, German autocracy has never struck root, and we refuse absolutely to acclimatize it here. We are even resolved to destroy this autocracy as our enemy, in concert with the English, the French, and the Americans. . . I am tempted to say that there is no antagonism between our own form of government and democracy—even that they are in accord. I say "democracy" and not "demagogy," from which Japan must be preserved.

There is another distinction to be made. The democracy of the ancients was purely nominal; it was not a true democracy. Demos, in reality, was not the multitude, but a special class in the nation. Formerly the democrats were concerned only with political affairs. But it were an error to believe that politics was an important part of civilization and of culture. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries political progress occasioned the progress of civilization and the preponderance of the bourgeosie, the heart of the nation, came to be regarded as necessary, in order to annihilate the privileged classes. Hence the placing of the bourgeois in power was essential, and the establishment of representative rule a matter of the first importance. To obtain these ends the political party appeared to be the most efficacious weapon.

The social basis of the two privileged classes was real estate. The citizens, on the contrary, derived their power from their personal property. The democratic politics of the eighteenth century appears to me as the expression of the

conflict between the owners of personal property and the holders of real estate; its two doctrines are the liberty of the individual and the guarantee of property. But the persons in possession of property, whether real or personal, are far from forming a majority in a country; they cannot pretend to represent the entire nation. The multitude lacks property. Hence what is called the guarantee of property has no meaning to a large part of the citizens. What is called the liberty of the individual is the privilege of the property-holding minority; for the plebe there is no liberty! . . . Among the hundreds of articles in civil codes, four-fifths protect solely those who have some means of existence; only a few relate to contracts . . . and are drawn in favor of men who live by labor without possessions. . . In fine, democratic politics bears no relation to the welfare of the largest number of the citizens of a country. The legislative results of political parties are almost worthless for poor people; only the property-owning class benefits by them. . . . Hence Japan would make a mistake if, in imitation of Europe, she should install a régime of false democracy. And if it be really true that in the great European war we must regard one side as the partisans of this outworn democracy and the other as those of autocracy, better for Japan not to take sides!

After this somewhat pessimistic declaration, the learned professor goes on to remark more hopefully that both in Europe and in America new democratic tendencies are becoming more and more marked, and that the men fighting against German autocracy have in view the welfare of

humanity in general.

The doctrines of the new democracy are primarily economic security and the protection of life. This democracy has therefore, above all,

an economic character.

In Japan, under the Tokougawa Shogunate, the security of life was assured; in fact, for the laborer to remain faithful to his work implied social guarantees. It is true that the division of Japanese society into four classes was very severe and that individual liberty, in consequence, was extremely limited. This must be noted in comparison with present conditions; but it must not be forgotten that this strict division into classes was a condition of social security.

The democrats of to-day wish to reconcile the guarantees of former times with a new democratic estate, more extended, more complete. There is no question now of protecting the ancient classes—samaurais, agriculturalists, etc.—it a matter of protecting the whole nation. Such is the true democracy! This ideal is not in contradiction with the national spirit of Japan—quite the contrary! It may be said that it is an enlargement of the reformist spirit of the Taika epoch in the pre-feudal era.

This formidable war has shown that the value of soldiers to a nation is greater than the merit of generals and statesmen. Democratic tendencies are fortified by this fact. Only the nation wherein the people, the vital force of societies, possesses full security—that nation alone has the right to appeal to the people, to mobilize them at

critical moments.

PROVINCES IN DISPUTE BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU

HE importance of removing, as far as may be, all elements of future discord among nations is one of the lessons that the great war has taught us, and hence it is recognized in both Chile and Peru as eminently desirable that some satisfactory settlement of the long-standing question as to the eventual ownership of the provinces of Arica and Tacna should be reached. These provinces were ceded temporarily by Peru to Chile by the terms of the treaty of peace that put an end to the long and bitter conflict between the two nations in 1884. At the same time the province of Tarapacá was ceded by Peru unconditionally.

An impartial statement of the history and the present status of this vexed question is contained in an article published in Cuba Contemporanéa, by a Chilean, Señor Felix

Nieto del Río.

At the time the provinces of Tacna and Arica were surrendered to Chile it was provided in the treaty that at the expiration of ten years, that is to say, in 1894, the definite ownership of the two provinces should be determined by a plebiscite. When, however, the appointed term had been completed, the difficulty arose that the treaty had failed to provide the exact conditions under which the vote was to be taken. Hence, although the Chilean Government declared itself to be quite ready to carry out the general provision, an irreconcilable difference developed as to those who were to be entitled to cast a vote. Chile held that all actual residents had a right to exercise this privilege, while Peru contended that the voting should be confined to those who were residents in 1884, when the treaty was signed.

As in the ten-year interval, Chile had actively encouraged the establishment of Chilean settlers, and as many of the former Peruvian inhabitants had gone away the chances were overwhelmingly in favor of a permanent annexation of Tacna and Arica to Chile if all the actual residents were permitted to vote, while in case the only qualified voters should be the resident Peruvians the decision was equally certain to be the other way. The treaty provision that the losing side in the election was to receive from the other party 10,000,000 pesos in silver was not regarded by Peru as a satisfactory offset for her territorial loss.

After fourteen years of more or less active negotiation, leading to no practical result whatever, diplomatic relations between Chile and Peru were at last severed in 1908, ostensibly because of a quite unimportant dispute concerning the refusal by the Peruvian Government of a crown offered by Chile to be placed in the crypt dedicated to the heroes of the war.

The long delay served to crystallize the belief prevailing among many Chileans that the provisions of the treaty as to the retrocession of the provinces were merely formal, and designed to veil an actual cession, while on the other hand the Peruvians were inclined to regard the failure to hold the promised plebiscite as invalidating the entire treaty, and thus making imperative the return of the ceded provinces, the "captives."

The question as to Tacna and Arica has become complicated with that regarding the province of Antofagasta, which was ceded to Chile by Bolivia, an ally of Peru in the early part of the war. This province constituted the Pacific outlet of Bolivia, and in the final adjustment of the debatable questions between the two countries in 1904 Chile agreed, in the interests of international equity, to construct a railroad leading from the Pacific port of Arica, in the province ceded by Peru, into Bolivia, so as to give the latter country direct access to the Pacific coast. At the present time there is a strong current of opinion in Bolivia favoring the acquisition of an extension of the national domain to the Pacific so that the commerce of the country shall no longer have to pass through Chilean territory,

Since a retrocession of the former Bolivian province of Antofagasta, which intervened between the main body of Chile and the provinces secured from Peru, definitely or conditionally, would scarcely be practicable, even in the doubtful contingency that Chile should be willing to accord it, the proposition has been agitated that a strip of land on the northern boundary of Arica, which constitutes the present northern boundary of

Chile, should be given to Bolivia

However, in order to make this cession, the question of the definite control of Chile over the province would have to be settled, either by a favorable vote in a plebiscite, or else by a voluntary surrender by Peru.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE WAR AND ALLIED TOPICS

The War and the Bagdad Railway. By Morris Jastrow. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.50.

When a writer who is also a scholar of great thoroughness applies himself to the elucidation of some matter of current interest, the result is apt to have value of one kind or another. Professor Morris Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania is a high authority in the field of Semitic languages, and in the archæology of ancient Babylonia and Assyria. His studies of the ancient peoples of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia have been extended to an accurate knowledge of the present peoples and conditions. He has thus been able to give us a remarkably valuable account of the recent rivalries of the great European powers in Asiatic Turkey, and in his newest book he tells the story of the Bagdad Railway more instructively for American readers than any other writer has yet done. An extensive literature is growing up about Germany's plans and aspirations in the Near East, yet Dr. Jastrow's book seems to us to give the best single statement.

The Soul of the Russian Revolution. By Moissaye J. Olgin. Henry Holt & Co. 433 pp. III. \$2.50.

Americans who wish to study the Russian revolutionary movement in its entirety, as nearly as may be from the Russian viewpoint, will find a wealth of material in this volume. The author has not confined himself to the mere story of revolutionary organizations, nor for that matter to the history of revolutionary doctrines in Russia. He regards the Russian revolution as something more than the activities of factions, trying to apply their theories to political reality-as more, too, than a change in the forms of government or in the civic rights of the people. In his view the Russian revolution is "the awakening to selfconsciousness of a great nation shaken to its very foundations." In other words, the thing that he is writing about in this book is a great mass movement and he shows the Russian nation in action from the very beginnings of that mass movement to the point of abolition of the old régime. To trace the varied economic and political influences at work for all those centuries of Russia's history was indeed an enormous task. No one man could hope to accomplish it completely, even to his own satisfaction, but we are not likely to see in our time a better résumé of this complicated subject than has been provided by this Russian journalist.

Inside the Russian Revolution. By Rheta Childe Dorr. Macmillan. 243 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

An American woman's account of the months of turmoil succeeding the overturn of autocratic government in Russia. Mrs. Dorr went to that country early in May, 1917, a socialist, as she

says, by conviction and an ardent sympathizer with revolution, having known personally some of the brave men and women who suffered imprisonment and exile after the failure of the uprising in 1905. She returned from Russia "with a very clear conviction that the world will have to wait awhile before it can establish any cooperative millenniums or before it can safely hand over the work of government to the man in the street."

Russia in Transformation. By Arthur J. Brown. Fleming H. Revell Company. 189 pp. \$1.

An interesting and judicious statement regarding the conditions that led up to the revolution, the salient features of the revolution itself and a tentative outline of the factors likely to influence its future development.

Austria-Hungary, The Polyglot Empire. By Wolf von Schierbrand. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 352 pp. \$3.

Not a mere war book, but an attempt to do for its readers three things: (1) To outline the process of growth and accretion active in creating the Austria-Hungary of to-day, the natural resources of the land and the vital characteristics of the polyglot population; (2) To point out the chief problems inherited by the nation and springing from the peculiar origin of the monarchy as a whole; and (3) to define the most feasible means of allaying if not entirely removing these difficulties. The author lived in Austria four years—from 1912 until a few months ago—and had the best of opportunities for studying the land and the people. For many years he has written for the American public on European politics and is peculiarly fitted to act as interpreter to Americans of the aims and ideals of Central Europe.

A History of the Great War. By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Vol. II. The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1915. George H. Doran Company. 257 pp. \$2.

The difficult year 1915 is covered by this second volume of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's history. In it will be found a connected story of British operations in France and Flanders. It is noteworthy as containing one of the first detailed accounts of the second Battle of Ypres and the Battle of Loos.

Balfour, Viviani, and Joffre. By Francis W. Halsey. Funk & Wagnalls Company. 369 pp. \$1.50.

The text of the speeches made by the British and French Commissioners during their sojourn in the United States last spring, with an account of the arrival of American warships and soldiers in England and France under Admiral Sims and General Pershing.

The Old Front Line. By John Masefield. Macmillan. 99 pp. Ill. \$1.

A graphic word painting of the "old front line" in France as it was when the Battle of the Somme began. The description of the topography of the country is followed by an account of the share of the British troops in this battle which resulted in freeing to France a great tract seventy miles long by from ten to twenty-five broad. His narrative follows the winding line of the trenches, skirting the villages of Albert, Hamel, Maricourt, Mametz, Montauban, Hetbuterne and many others on the borders of No Man's Land. More than any other writer, Mr. Masefield has given us the feeling of the curious blind world of the trench fighter. In vivid prose that holds the essence of poetry, he shows us the old front line as a path of glory and plucks beauty and truth as expressed in the spirit of man from destruction and the ways of death. Mr. Masefield is at present in this country lecturing on "The War and the Future."

Pictures of Ruined Belgium. By Louis Berden and Georges Verdavaine. John Lane Company. 245 pp. Ill. \$3.

In this volume the textual record of the German occupation of Belgium in 1914 by Georges Verdavaine, reinforces the seventy-two pen-andink sketches of scenes of devastation made by the Belgian architect, Louis Berden. The translation from the French was made by J. Lewis May.

How to Live at the Front. By Hector MacQuarrie. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 269 pp. \$1.25.

Advice to American soldiers by a young British lieutenant of artillery in regard to "the little things in warfare—the ordinary, personal things, the things that are not a bit thrilling or exciting." The author does well to point out to the man who is going to France that his life there will not be wholly made up of attacking the Germans or resisting their attack. For the greater part the individual soldier's life will be one of "personal relations under peculiar conditions, upon a strange scene." The advice is informally expressed and given in excellent spirit.

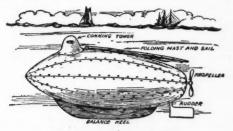
The Marvel Book of American Ships. By Captain Orton P. Jackson and Major Frank E. Evans. Stokes. 391 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A reliable informational book about the different kinds of ships that have been built and used by the United States from the early days of the Republic. Each type is described in detail—the old sailing ships, fast clippers and schooners, man o' war's men, frigates, monitors, battleships, superdreadnoughts, submarines, destroyers, lightships, yachts and merchantmen. The building of these various ships in the great yards, warfare past and present on the sea, gun-firing, deep-sea diving and kindred matters connected with our

maritime affairs are described with accuracy. One of the pleasing features of the book is the abundance of fine illustrations. There are over 400 illustrations from photographs and twelve full-page color plates. Two charts show the flags used in the United States signal code and the company flags and types of funnels used by the various steamship lines for identification.

The Boys' Book of Submarines. By A. Frederick Collins and Virgil Collins. Stokes. 220 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

A splendid book for the boy who is interested in boats and in mechanics. It contains complete directions for making a model submarine that can actually be run, information about the real submarine, how it dives, keeps submerged, etc. There are also details in regard to the use of the periscope, instructions in underwater signalling, and information about the training of the crew, descriptions of the various types of engine, steam,



ROBERT FULTON'S SUBMARINE

gas, Diesel and electric, and the story of the making of the torpedo. The first submarine, which was invented in 1620 by a Dutchman named Van Drebel, was tried out on the Thames near London. A more or less successful submarine of the time of the American Revolution was built by an American, David Bushnell, who devised and used a torpedo. About the year 1800 Robert Fulton designed and constructed a submarine, the Nautilus. It is a curious commentary upon our present successful methods of under-sea warfare, to note that Bushnell's submarine was rejected successively by the French, British and American governments because they failed to see in it a useful—present or future—weapon of war.

Young France and America. By Pierre de Lanux. Macmillan. 153 pp. \$1.25.

A book that points out the possibilities of Franco-American relations in the future, written especially for the young men and women of America who love France and are interested in her national life and the encouragement of a permanent cultural alliance between France and the United States. M. de Lanux discusses the formation of the present French generation, French philosophers, poets and artists, and the United States in 1917, as seen through the eyes of a young Frenchman. He stands for democracy, because it offers the "safest and most acceptable and loyal basis for individualism," which is free sacrifice, "sacrifice to what you choose and love and want to serve."

ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION

The Substance of the Gothic. By Ralph Adams Cram. Boston: Marshall Jones. 200 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Cram has called these six lectures on Gothic Architecture "The Substance of the Gothic" because they are not an effort to acquaint the student categorically with Gothic art, but deal with Christian architecture from Charlemagne to Henry VIII in relation to its substance. They show that Gothic architecture was a definite and growing organism, an outward manifestation of a system of life, where what was best in the minds of the people crystalized itself in the incomparable glories of Amiens, Chartres, Mont St. Michel and Rheims. He holds that the secret of the Gothic lies in the fact that it was a communal and a Christian art. The logic of the vaulting and the buttressing typified the logic of the Christian ideal, as approached by people to whom "the principles of Christianity were a dominant and a controlling force." He makes the point that art is not an amenity of life, but an integral part as indispensable as religion, ethics or philosophy. In the war, he sees new hope that art will return in all her myriad forms, which will mean the "restoration of the Christian Commonwealth."

Interior Decoration for Modern Needs. By Agnes Foster Wright. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 225 pp. Ill. \$2.25.

A book on house-furnishing for the woman of moderate means who cannot furnish "period rooms," or employ decorators. The decoration of small city apartments is considered; also the furnishing of porches and out-of-door living rooms. Sixty-eight excellent illustrations guide the householder in carrying out the suggested decoration of the home.

Interior Decoration for the Small Home. By Amy L. Rolfe, M. A. Macmillan Company. 151 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

An excellent study of the art of beautifying the modest home for which expensive furniture, rugs and tapestries may not be purchased. The suggestions will help home-keepers to express their individuality in their houses and apartments and make them more hospitable and companionable in appearance. Illustrations accompany the details for selection of furnishings. The author is In-structor in Home Economics in the University of Montana.

LITERATURE: CRITICISM: ESSAYS

 $\mathbf{T}^{ ext{HE}}$ plan of the "Cambridge History of American Literature" follows that of the "Cambridge History of English Literature" with this difference, that the purely literary history of America is built up from the broad basis of the general intellectual history during the first two hundred years of early nationalism. Thus the literary history of America includes not only belles lettres, but history, biography, divinity, philosophy, public affairs, travels, journalism, general science, etc. This plan is excellent, inasmuch as it envisions the practical activities of a growing nation, which shaped moral, religious and political ideas, that were to reveal themselves later in esthetic literary art. The chapters take up successively: Travelers and Explorers, Historians, Puritan Divines, Jonathan Edwards, Philosophers, Benjamin Franklin, Colonial Newspapers and Magazines, American Political Writing, The Beginnings of Verse, Early Drama, Early Essayists, Irving, Bryant and the Minor Poets, Fiction, New England Transcendentalism, and Emerson. It is gratifying to find Emerson entrusted to so thorough a critic as Paul Elmer More, and the study of Franklin undertaken by no less a critical authority than Professor Stuart

In "Contemporary Literature," a new volume of literary criticism, Professor Sherman has knit his chapters of critical comment strongly together

for a single purpose. He has undertaken the task of pulling literature and criticism out of the abyss of naturalism up to the "wide sunlit level" of humanism. By title these essays are: "The Democracy of Mark Twain," "The Utopian Naturalism of H. G. Wells," "The Barbaric Naturalism of Theodore Dreiser," "The Realism of Arnold Bennett," "The Esthetic Naturalism of George Moore," "The Skepticism of Anatole France," "The Exoticism of John Synge," "The Complacent Toryism of Alfred Austin," "The Esthetic Idealism of Henry James," "The Humanism of George Meredith," and "Shakespeare Our Contemporary."

Shakespeare is Professor Sherman's measuring rod for the humanism of modern writers. The keynote of his comparison may be found in the introduction: "I am as certain as I can be of anything, that God is a spirit who denies the validity of adopting the laws of the physical universe for the moral regimen of man. tains that our criticism has been the accomplice of naturalistic philosophy and expects in the future to see the ideals of the Allied Nations logically reflected in a literature that exalts a vindicated "law for man."

Charles Mills Gayley in a contemplative volume, "Shakespeare and the Founders of American Liberty," has drawn from the immortal plays the foundations for a treatise on the sources of democratic government in America. He holds that the principles common to Shakespeare and Hooker and the patriots of 17th-century

² The Cambridge History of American Literature. Vol. I. Edited by William Peterfield Trent, John Erskine, Stuart P. Sherman and Carl Van Doren. Putnam. 584 pp. \$3.50.

² Contemporary Literature. By Stuart Sherman. Holt.

³ Shakespeare and the Founders of American Liberty. By Charles Mills Gayley, Macmillan, 269 pp. \$1.50.

England were incorporated by the Revolutionary Fathers into the Declaration of Independence and are the underlay of the structure of American liberty. Therefore we stand upon the solid rock of Shakespeare and his England when we take means to "make the world safe for democracy."

Stephen Gwyn gives us in the "Writers of the Day Series," a biography and critical estimate of Mrs. Humphry Ward and her works.1 It is a remarkably spirited and readable appreciation, even though one may not fully agree with the conclusions. In his opinion, Mrs. Ward fails in the last resort because she is too much of the good citizen and too little the artist; the publicist formulating views, not the writer desirous of writing a supremely good book.

To celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of George Eliot's birth (1918), Lina Wright Berle has written a critical comparison between "George Eliot and Thomas Hardy."2 The book is decidedly interesting and well phrased, but one feels that while the radicalism of George Eliot has been properly valued by the author, there are

emendations that might be suitably made to the

estimate of Hardy. One can hardly agree that "unregulated liberty is the basis of Hardy's view

of life." Barry Pain writes entertainingly on "The Short Story." Speaking for England, he says that the lack of criticism of this form of literature has largely contributed to the lowly position of the short story. But in spite of neglect the art of the short story is not a lost one. "We have not retrograded even if we have not advanced far enough. Indeed, it is probable that however poor much of the ephemeral work in popular periodicals may be, the short story was never better written in English than it has been within the last fifty years."

Mr. John Butler Yeats appears as "The Preacher" in his volume of "Letters" written from America between the years 1911 and 1916, to his son, W. B. Yeats,4 Ezra Pound has made the selections from the letters, and assumes the fault—if fault there be—of the preachments; for, as he writes in the preface: "In the letters themselves there is only the air of leisure. The thought drifts up as easily as a cloud in the heavens, and as clear-cut clouds on bright days."

"All is vanity save art and poetry," Mr. Yeats cries from his serene intellectual outpost overlooking our artistic barrenness, and America is at present far too bustling and busy to produce great art or great poetry. Men have not learned to be truly individualistic on this side of the water, nor the philosophy of the solitary life. Our fraternizing instincts pluck us out of moods that might crystalize in art. "Democracy devours its poets and artists," he writes, and scolds us because we have the "missionary mood," and live -as he sees us-in a world of shifting ideas and opinions. Yet in spite of his personal comment, the letters are kindly-mannered and truly critical. Contrasts between types of character of different

nationalities and comparisons between Englishmen of letters and American writers make excellent reading. Certain aphorisms plucked here and there from the letters are worth carrying in the memory:

"Character may be called the peace of old age." "Truth seen in passion is the substance of poetry."

"The Marseillaise pleases because it frees the

crowd by giving it a soul."

"To live constantly with oneself is like wearing a hair shirt next the skin; but it is not only wholesome, it is illuminating.'

"Being uplifted is the American recreation." "France and America are the missionary na-

"Liberty is an English thought and there it remains."

"A perfectly disinterested, an absolutely unselfish love of making mischief, mischief for its own dear sake, is an Irish characteristic."

A scholarly, definitive work on Nietzsche, by William Salter, was written before the war to promote a more general understanding of his thought and aims. So far as the war goes, Mr. So far as the war goes, Mr. Salter writes, Nietzsche opposed-contrary to general opinion-the very tendencies in the Germanic nation that finally brought it about. While the chapters are necessarily limited to his fundamental points of view, they note briefly his thought on education, later views of art and music, his conception of women, his interpretation of Christianity, and attitude toward religion. It is—broadly speaking—an altogether new Nietz-sche who emerges from the pages of this expository critique.

Walter Pritchard Eaton has written of the world out of doors with all the pictorial charm of a Thoreau in a series of essays, "Green Trails and Upland Pastures." While these byways and uplands are mainly of New England, they are typical of all northerly uplands. Mr. Eaton's favorite pasture is in Franconia on the forestclad slopes of Mt. Kinsman. "You find yourself," he writes, upon a plateau pasture five or six acres in extent once regular in shape, but now broken by tiny bays and inlets all along the edge by the invasion of Christmas trees." Three essays carry the reader afield to Glacier Park and the orchardclad slopes around Lake Chelan. Throughout the text, bridges, boats, stone walls, each and every man-made addition to the landscape assumes distinct personality; dwellers in the forests and hedgerows make friendly advances, and the whole pageant of nature becomes linked with the reader by the all pervasive magic of sympathy and understanding.

"Days Out and Other Papers" bring us fresh comment upon the facts and foibles of life indoors, by Elizabeth Woodbridge, the author of the inimitable Jonathan papers. There are oblique lights of literary criticism and wandering gleams of philosophy throughout these sane tidbits of essays.

¹ Mrs. Humphry Ward. By Stephen Gwynn. Holt. 127 pp. 60 cents. ² George Eliot and Thomas Hardy. By Lina Wright Berle. Kennerley. 174 pp. \$1.50. ³ The Short Story. By Barry Pain. Doran. 63 pp. 40 cents.

⁴ Letters by John Butler Yeats. Published by Elizabeth Corbet Yeats. Churchtown County Dundrum, County of Dublin.

⁵ Nietzsche. By William M. Salter. Holt. 529 pp.

^{\$3.50.} Green Trails and Upland Pastures. By Walter Pritchard Eaton. Doubleday Page. 303 pp. \$1.60. Days Out and Other Papers. By Elizabeth Woodbridge. Houghton Mifflin. 212 pp. \$1.25.

THE REBIRTH OF SPAIN

VERY little is generally known about modern Spanish literature in this country. Neither is it known here that there has been a determined effort on the part of certain Spanish writers and artists to advance in Spanish literature a program of democratization and universal education. Spanish fiction since the Spanish-American War, in 1898, has been the channel for the expression of the regenerative influences now working in Spain.

In considering Spanish fiction as a whole, it

V. BLASCO IBÁÑEZ (The painting by Sorolla. Copyright 1908 by The Hispanic Society of America)

is well to remember that Spain is a provincial kingdom. Andalusia, Galicia, Catalonia, and La Mancha are small worlds within themselves. Each of these provinces presents a distinct group philologically and socially. Therefore the "regional novel" best represents Spain, since cosmopolitanism scarcely exists there. Two novels that are representative of the new type of Spanish fiction have been recently translated into English. They are: "La Barraca" (The Cabin), by V. Blasco Ibáñez, and "La feria de los discretos" (The City of the Discreet), by Pio Baroja.

In "The Cabin," Ibáñez depicts his native prov-

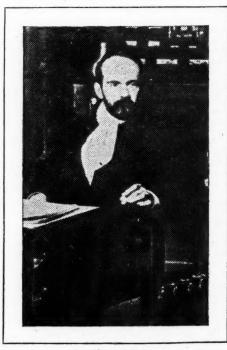
In "The Cabin," Ibanez depicts his native province, Valencia, and the city of Valencia, the center of Spanish art and letters. The actual scene of the action of the novel is a *huerta*, near the city, a small irrigated district divided into tiny farms.

Through the oppression of a usurer, a farmer Barret and his family are driven to a tragic end. The other farmers curse the lands and for many years they lie vacant. Finally a miller, Batiste, comes from a distance and settles upon the weedy acres. With a realism comparable to that of Victor Hugo, Ibáñez shows the forces of cloudy evil working toward the destruction of the hopes and plans of Batiste. He makes it clear that these forces are the effuvia of superstition and hatred uprising from the hearts of ignorant men. Batiste is in conflict with a society steeped in selfishness and in the fanatical prejudices of the past. He sounds the warning against a form of government where the wealth and privileges are in the hands of a small group of aristocrats. The style is limpid, poetic. Ibáñez' love of the land, the streams and the growing wheat, his intense sympathy with children, his feeling for the labor-ing man and his indictment of injustice and cruelty combine to shape a remarkable book, all the more powerful in that it is unmistakably

regional.

"La feria de los discretos" (the City of the Discreet)² is a less poetical, but a more subtle and well rounded out novel than "The Cabin." Pio Baroja, the author, was born in San Sebastian in 1872. He was educated for the profession of medicine, but forsook his practise and went into

² The City of the Discreet. By Pio Barjoa. Knopf. 356 pp. \$1.50.



Pfo BAROJA
(Author of "The City of the Discreet")

¹ The Cabin. By V. Blasco Ibáñez. Knopf. 288 pp. \$1.50. business. Failing in this field, he became a journalist, and from 1900 onward devoted himself wholly to literature. In addition to many novels, he has published several volumes of essays and

a considerable amount of verse.

In "The City of the Discreet," the reader is introduced to the city of Cordova in the glories of an Andalusian spring. Baroja has transferred the city bodily to the pages of the novel, the shutin ruinous gardens of a decaying aristocracy, the throngs of gaily dressed people, the tortuous streets, jangling markets, and curious inns. Old Spain lives in the book; one senses the archaic quality of its life, the age-old barriers of custom, the reflex of inertia. In this archaic Cordova, the novelist places Quentin Garcia Roelas, the natural son of a Marquis and a woman of humble birth. Quentin has had eight years in England at Eton; he has become a Northerner at heart. With this background of the North in his mind, he cannot see color and romance in Cordova save as an external characteristic. Back of the colorfulness in the "sure straight line" that bars progress, Cordova is "the city of the discreet"; her masses

part of a nationalism that is suffering from anchylosis of the joints; the slightest movement causes pain. Consequently to progress, she will have to proceed slowly—not by leaps.

In the character of the girl, Remedios, pure, beautiful and unspoiled, Baroja symbolizes the truth that will finally triumph over custom-bound Spain. But this bright spirit is not for the masses of the "cities of the discreet," nor for worldly adventurers like Quentin, nor for the futile revolutionist. She is of and for those whose minds have not been corrupted, the tillers of the soil, those to whom "being good" means in the words of Remedios: "Being worthy, sincere, incapable

of treachery and deceit."

Among the regional novelists, Pereda has written of the Biscayan coast; Calderon and Alarcon of Andalusia; Pardo Bazin of Galicia, and Alas and Valdes of the Asturias. They have painted with a broad brush, "the social, religious and political existence of these communities, which are still medieval in their mode of life. Neither France nor England can show a literary group of equal power."

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION

The Brazilians and Their Country. By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. Frederick A. Stokes

Company. 403 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

The latest and most noteworthy attempt on the part of an American writer to interpret the people of Brazil to those of the United States. The significant things in Brazil's recent history, especially the marked progress in the field of engineering, are clearly brought out. From the standpoint of national self-interest, if for no other reason, the needs and viewpoints of our Brazilian neighbors should be better understood in this country.

The Book of the West Indies. By Hyatt Verrill. E. P. Dutton & Co. 458 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A good description of the islands, with so much of history as is requisite to meet an intelligent traveler's demands for information.

A Trip to Lotus Land. By Archie Bell. John Lane Company. 287 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Mr. Archie Bell's suggested itinerary of six weeks for Japan will prove inadequate, we fear, to meet the demands of the intending traveler after he has read Mr. Bell's book, which describes "points of interest" that would require a far longer time. The pictures are as tempting as the text.

Over Japan Way. By Alfred M. Hitchcock. Holt. 274 pp. \$2.

Entertaining travel sketches embellished by a series of beautifully reproduced photographs of Japanese scenes.

Pioneering Where the World Is Old. By Alice Tisdale. Holt. 227 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

An American woman's most unusual adventures on the frontier of China. Mr. and Mrs. Tisdale employed all the primitive means of travel that are still in vogue in Manchuria. It is safe to say that no Americans ever came into more inti-

mate contact with the real life that ebbs and flows over that part of the earth's surface. The sketches first appeared in the Atlantic Monthly.

China from Within. By Charles Ernest Scott. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 327 pp. Ill. \$1.75. An account, from the Christian missionary

An account, from the Christian missionary standpoint, of what has been going on in China during recent years. Dr. Scott presents a body of material concerning the inner life of the Chinese such as can hardly be found in any other published book.

Vanished Halls and Cathedrals of France. By George Wharton Edwards. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 322 pp. Ill. \$6.

Mr. George Wharton Edwards, the author of "Vanished Towers and Chimes of Flanders," has now done for the lost architectural glories of France what he did in the former work for those of Belgium. He gives historical descriptions of each of the principal buildings, with full-page illustrations in color. In this way the characteristics of the most noteworthy monuments destroyed or mutilated in the war are restored on the printed page, for posterity.

The Hill-Towns of France. By Eugenie M. Fryer. E. P. Dutton & Co. 260 pp. Ill. \$2.50. Adopting an original grouping of French towns for purposes of description, Miss Fryer gives a welcome novelty and variety to her treatment of several of the most noted hill-towns in each of the provinces. Fifty pen-and-ink drawings by Roy L. Hilton illustrate the text.

The Lost Cities of Ceylon. By Geraldine Edith Mitton. Stokes. 256 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

Although it was known in the early part of the nineteenth century that the ancient capitals of Ceylon lay engulfed in the jungle it was not until 1871 that any steps were taken to reclaim and preserve them. Miss Mitton's account of these ruins, while modestly claiming to be only an interpretation, gives a comprehensive survey of the history of these ancient cities, monasteries and citadels and bears witness to the wonders of a lost civilization. The "moonstones," not the gem, but the semi-circular granite stones carved with rows of lions, horses, and elephants; the carven baths shaped like a lotus, the gigantic rock-cut figures, and groups of ruins are shown in a series of fascinating illustrations.

The Quest of El Dorado. By Rev. J. A. Zahm. Appletons. 261 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

In the year 1535, a roving Indian told the Spaniards the story of a gilded chieftain, to whom they gave the name of "El Dorado," the Gilded Man or King. Dr. Zahm has told the story of the various expeditions sent into the heart of the American wilderness in search of a paradise of gold. It is a most romantic tale, carrying historical values, and touched with all the color and zest of fiction. A quotation from Pedro de Angelis in documents relative to the provinces of the Rio de la Plata gives a clue that partially explains the quest of the Conquistadores: "There are epochs in which the reason is bewildered by the contemplation of new and unusual objects." Thus, the fortune hunter was rever disenchanted by failure and continued to envision:

"Imperial El Dorado roofed with gold; Shadows to which despite all shocks of change, All onset of capricious accident, Men clung with yearning hope that would not

die."

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

The Foundations of National Prosperity. By Richard T. Ely, Ralph H. Hess, Charles K. Leith, Thomas Nixon Carver. Macmillan. 378

pp. \$2.

This volume is made up of "Studies in the Conservation of Permanent National Resources." In Part I, Professor Ely sets forth in an original and thought-provoking discussion the relation of economic theory to conservation. He shows that conservation policies have been chiefly land policies and these have attained a new importance during the present world war. In the second part Professor Hess associates conservation with economic evolution and emphasizes the need of change in policy with the transition from one economic stage to another. Part III, by Professor Leith, is an enlightening exposition of the peculiar problems arising from the exploitation of mineral resources-notably coal and iron-which, as Professor Ely describes them, are "natural treasures created once for all" (that is to say, when the supply is exhausted, they cannot be replaced) and thus differ from forests and other resources. In Part IV, Professor Carver treats of human resources in a series of fresh and stimulating chapters which approach the subject from several new and unexpected angles.

The Food Problem. By Vernon Kellogg and Alonzo E. Taylor. With a preface by Herbert Hoover. Macmillan. 212 pp. \$1.25.

There is slight danger of over-stressing the vital importance of the food supply as a predominant factor in the war crisis. Two members of the Food Administration at Washington attempt in this little book to sketch the nature and scope of the food problem as it faces the American people to-day and to point out methods of solution. The authors are well equipped for the task.

Practical Food Economy. By Alice Gitchell Kirk. Boston: Little, Brown. 239 pp. \$1.25.

An experienced lecturer on cooking and household economics here presents suggestions to prevent waste of food in the home and to secure well-balanced meals with the fullest possible utilization of nutritive elements.

Money and Banking. By John Thorne Holdsworth. D. Appleton & Co. 511 pp. \$2.25.

A new edition of this standard text-book was required as a result of the many changes in banking and credit operations brought about by the installation of the Federal Reserve system in this country. Parts of the work have been entirely rewritten and the whole is brought completely up to date.

The Trust Problem. By Jeremiah W. Jenks and Walter E. Clark. Doubleday, Page & Co. 499 pp. \$2.

The fourth edition of "The Trust Problem" is virtually a new book. Fresh material has been incorporated in Chapter 1 on "The Evolution of Business," Chapter 9 on "Prices," Chapter 10 on "Trusts and the Working Man," Chapter 12 on "Industrial Combinations in Europe," and there are entirely new chapters on "State and Federal Trust Legislation" and "Trusts and the Federal Court." In appendices a great amount of valuable documentary material is presented.

Foreign Exchange Explained. By Franklin Escher. Macmillan. 219 pp. \$1.25.

Within recent years hundreds of American bankers and business men have found it necessary to broaden, extend, and make definite their knowledge of foreign exchange. Mr. Escher's book meets the needs of all such men by explaining the underlying principles of the matter, at the same time giving practical illustrations drawn from business life.

Postal Savings. By Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Princeton University Press. 176 pp. \$1.25.

The postal savings bank system of the United States is new, but not as new as many, without having given special attention to the matter, might be inclined to assert. It has been in full operation for six years—long enough to enable a student like Dr. Kemmerer to give fairly complete

and definite answers to these questions, among others: Does the system compete with other savings institutions, or is it a feeder to them? Does it draw out money that would otherwise be hoarded? How does it work in times of stringency? How has the war affected it?

Social Problems in Porto Rico. By Fred K. Fleagle. Heath. 139 pp. \$1.

Mr. Fleagle in his capacity as Dean of the University of Porto Rico, has undertaken special work in rural sociology. This book presents in abbreviated form the material covered, which includes conditions of the population, rural housing, industries, woman and child labor, the land problem, crime, sickness, disease, intemperance, the schools, and rural school movements, and physical development and longevity of the population. It shows clearly what is being done in Porto Rico for the improvement of the people and their living conditions by the government and what may be accomplished there, once the difficulties of the rural situation are solved. The greatest drawback, as far as the agricultural situation goes, is the lack of development of farm

products in Porto Rico, which would make it possible for the small landholder to earn his living and maintain his family.

If I Were Twenty-One. By William Maxwell. J. B. Lippincott Company. 295 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Maxwell, writing as a veteran in business, tells us a few of the things that he would do if he were making a fresh start at twenty-one. One thing he is very sure that he would do-he would wait till he was twenty-five before asking for a salaried job. He would put in the four years selling articles on commission and thus would fit himself to earn a salary and would find out definitely what he could do. His book is full of suggestions, not in the shape of formal advice, of which a super-abundance has already found its way into books designed for young and inexperienced business men, but in crisp, humorous paragraphs, the nub of which is likely to stick in the mind. On the whole, whether his pre-cepts are followed or not, Mr. Maxwell has a great deal to say which young men in business life—and older men, too, for that matter—will enjoy reading.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The Diaries of Leo Tolstoy. Vol. I. Dutton. 271 pp. Ill. \$2.

Those readers who have familiarized themselves with only the later writings of Count Leo Tolstoy, must be prepared for a slight shock upon reading the intimate records of his earlier life in the "Diaries." The first volume of the

series of three is now available in English translation, rendered from the Russian by C. J. Hogarth, and A. Sirnis. It covers the years from 1847 to 1852, and reveals the formative period of Tolstoy's life. His His Tolstoy's jottings, like those of Emerson, deal with his thoughts rather than with his actions, and express cryptically many of the ideas which he afterward expanded into the philosophy of his mature years. The dual-ism of his nature is



TOLSTOY AT TWENTY-THREE

particularly manifest; flesh and spirit were ever at war. The external laws of life did not feed the inner needs of his being; he began life as he ended it-"the Seeker." He is pictured by his own words as an eager searcher after pleasure, a man of fashion and careless morals, but the mitigating dualism of his nature is made manifest in the remorse that followed self-gratification, and the patient seeking after spiritual light that followed periods of religious scepticism. The record is that of a robust spirit who, living in a none too perfect universe, persistently fought down the worldly tendencies of his nature, and never ceased, even in the midst of his sins, to beseech the higher powers for knowledge and enlighten

The Writings of John Quincy Adams. Vol. VII: 1820-1823. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. Macmillan, 516 pp. \$3.50.

The seventh volume of "The Writings of John Quincy Adams" covers the period while Mr. Adams was Secretary of State in President Monroe's Cabinet. Public questions discussed in these letters have to do with the relations of Russia, Spain, and other nations with the United States, with the Spanish colonial system and the separation of the Spanish-American colonies from the parent country, and with efforts for the abolition of the slave trade. All these documents are of historical importance.

Lord Kitchener. By Henry Davray. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 96 pp.

A most sympathetic account of the life and achievements of Sir Horatio Herbert Kitchener. A prefatory letter by M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador, praises Kitchener as a man, a leader and the faithful friend of France.

The Story of Princeton. By Edwin Morris. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 270 pp. Ill. \$2.

This volume compresses the entire history of Princeton College and University from the year 1746, the date of its founding, to the commencement season of 1917, within 260 pages of letterpress. The illustrations are from drawings of the university buildings by Lester J. Hornby.

THE JANUARY RECOVERY IN SECURITY PRICES

THE final month of 1917 was one of quick disintegration in the prices of securities. The first month in 1918, on the other hand, has witnessed general improvement and rapid rebounds under the influence of certain constructive policies or announcements toward railroad issues and foreign government bonds, the two descriptions most affected in the December disturbance.

Looking back on the financial aspects of the war it is quite possible that December, 1917, may prove to have been the low-ebb period, and the average of stock and bond quotations then made the lowest during the struggle. If the railroad law proposed is enacted there will certainly be no return to the figures recently established for high-grade preferred stocks and for the junior mortgages. A readjustment of the tax measures and a modification of those portions of the law relating to excess profits might readily relieve pressure on industrial concerns which are in the curious position of showing large earnings on stock, but whose cash resources are out of proportion to the sums they are required to pay to liquidate their taxes.

The hysteria over foreign government issues has passed or been calmed by very direct statements that no repudiation of debts was anticipated or would be allowed in the interests of credit self-defense. The mobilization of the gold reserves of the country has been proceeding satisfactorily. There is much less inflation to-day than had been indicated as probable six months ago. Complete arrangements have been made to check the effects of dollar discounts in neutral countries, or those with whom the United States is trading on a substantial basis and where it is essential that credit be maintained as an offset to former German financial and commercial dominance.

Return of Confidence Shown by the Market

A list of quotations of various kinds of securities, representing the market values current about the middle of December best impresses on the mind the panicky state of the public about that time, while prices current a few weeks later indicate to what de-

gree confidence in these issues had been reestablished. The high prices at which they had sold in the two years, 1916 and 1917, are included for the sake of perspective:

FOREIGN BONDS.

Anglo-French 5s	High Prio Two Years 96 101 99	Low Price 817/8 911/2 731/2	Jan. 1918 Price 89 99 85
MUNICIPAL	BONDS		
N. Y. City 4½s of 1965 N. Y. City 4s of 1959	111 102	933/ ₄ 863/ ₄	95 85
JUNIOR RAILROAD BONDS.			
B. & O. Ref. 5s B. & O. Conv. 4½s C. & O. conv. 5s St. Paul ref. 4½s Rock Island ref. 4s Erie gen. lien 4s Erie conv. 4, "D". Missouri Pacific gen. 4s Pennsylvania gen. 4½s St. Louis & San Frisco adj. 6s Seaboard Air Iine adj. 5s Southern Pacific conv. 5s Southern Railway gen. 4s	101½ 985% 975% 98½ 7934 77 885% 69 104½ 8934 70 101%	73½ 69½ 71¾ 62 59¼ 47½ 41½ 86 54 *42¼ 85 56¾	84 79½ 78½ 70 68¾ 57 56 60 92 68 56 89¼ 62
RAILROAD PREFER		, ,	
Atchison	102 80 136 ¹ / ₈ 127 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	75 48½ 62½ 79¼ 69	85 563/4 79 92 70
RAILROAD COMMON		NE (CLASS
STOCK Atchison Baltimore and Ohio St. Paul Chesapeake and Ohio Erie Illinois Central Lehigh Valley New York Central. Pennsylvania Reading Southern Pacific Union Pacific * Low price in November	1087/8 96 102½ 71 435/8 1097/6 873/8 114¼ 60 115½ 104½ 1533/6	75 38 ¹ / ₄ 35 41 ³ / ₈ 85 ³ / ₄ 50 ³ / ₈ 62 ¹ / ₂ 40 ¹ / ₄ *60 ¹ / ₈ 75 ³ / ₄ 100 ¹ / ₄	87½ 54 46 54 16 93 57½ 46½ 75 84
•			

This recovery, which has been maintained to a large extent and expanded in the case of foreign government bonds and municipals, indicates a change of view on the part of the discouraged investor. To some extent the element of a continuous peace discussion, with what seems to be a steady merging of ideas on the question of terms which the Allies are eventually to propose, has been a factor. Then, too, Russia has met her coupons due on loans placed in the United States. It would help French spirit if it could be positively determined that the Bolsheviki were to pay their obligations located in France to the extent of nearly \$1,000,000.000.

The policy of the United States Government in respect to the terms under which the railroads are to be compensated is discussed elsewhere in the Review of Reviews this month, and is only referred to here as an illustration of the desire of the administration to deal fairly with vested rights. The effect of this plan is not confined to the carriers, for it establishes a precedent for consideration of the investor that has already stiffened the spirits of holders of public-utilities securities.

Third Liberty Loan

It is obvious that the general improvement in values will make the flotation of a third liberty loan easier, as there was grave doubt of the ability of the Government to gather in the sum required in March, had the shrinkage in value of stocks and bonds continued. There is even some attention being paid to the plan of offering the loan at 4 per cent., though possibly, as has been done in Great Britain, France and Germany, it may be sold at a moderate discount. The investor would be attracted very strongly to a United States 4 per cent. Government loan at, say, 96 or 97, which he felt sure would be redeemed after the war at par.

At one time in the early part of January there was a difference of nearly 2½ points as between the second Liberty loan 4s (those converted from the 3½s) and the Liberty 3½s, and in favor of the latter. Apparently wealthy investors found more advantage in paying about 99 for the non-taxable 3½s than in buying the taxable 4s at 96½. There is the same discrimination noted abroad, where the taxable 5s closed the year 1917 very near their bottom figure, which was 93, while the non-taxable 4½s closed 10 points up from their bottom price, or at about par. Just what benefit a tax-exempt bond would be in the event that the British Government should carry out its intention to conscript wealth is conjectural, for the conscription would be on principal.

INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 903. A CITIZEN ABROAD AND THE INCOME TAX

I am an American citizen registered with the United States Consul in my district. My income is derived totally from sources in Canada and I have been paying the income tax to the United States Government, but now that an income tax is being levied by the Canadian Government, it will be a considerable hardship to have to pay both of them. I have been told by a financial man that the United States Government does not expect its citizens, residents in other countries, whose sources of income are in those countries, to pay the income tax. Can you advise me on this subject, and can you give the names of the United States Government official to whom to write in connection with it?

We believe you have been misinformed. The Federal Income Tax Law of the United States, as enacted in 1916 and as amended in 1917, does contemplate that United States citizens, no matter where they reside, shall pay the prescribed taxes. In the language of the law, it is provided that:

"There shall be levied, assessed, collected and paid annually upon the entire net income arising or accruing from all sources to every citizen of the United States, whether residing at home or abroad, and to every person residing in the United States, though not a citizen thereof, a normal tax," etc.

Another subdivision of the law says:

"All provisions of this section relating to individuals who are to be chargeable with the normal tax shall apply to the levy, assessment and collection of the additional tax," etc.

Moreover, a ruling of the Treasury Depart-

Moreover, a ruling of the Treasury Department, which we believe still stands, emphasizes that the payment of an income tax under the law of another country does not relieve a citizen of the United States of his obligation under the law of this country.

As we write, we do not happen to have before us a copy of the new income tax law of the Dominion of Canada, but it is our impression that this law in many of its fundamental characteristics follows very closely the lines of the United States law. We are led to believe, therefore, that in the circumstances which you set forth, there is no way, other than through whatever specific exemptions may be provided by the Canadian law, for you to escape the imposition of the income tax in both countries.

For official assurance as to your status, you should address the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C.

No. 904. "LISTING" AND QUALITY

Is it all right for me to put my confidence in any bond that is listed on the New York Stock Exchange?

Listing has little to do with the question of intrinsic investment merit. In fact, all that it

purports to do is to facilitate distribution by providing a broad, general market for securities. It doesn't necessarily accomplish even that. There are scores of securities, especially in the official bond list, that are rarely bought or sold, and on the other hand there are others at times very actively traded in without getting wide distri-

Again, there are scores of bonds listed on the New York Stock Exchange that are essentially speculative and that could not be recommended for genuine investment purposes. Incidentally, listing carries with it certain assurance of the legitimacy of the enterprises whose securities are accorded the privileges of the Exchange, as well as assurance that buyers of such securities will be furnished periodically with certain essential information about the corporations in which they are interested, but each individual issue of bonds or stocks has to be judged on its own merits. It is, indeed, very dangerous to generalize in considering investment securities.

No. 905-EMERSON MOTORS STOCK

Please tell me what you think of Emerson Automobile stock. I have traded for some, and have been unable to find out anything about the proposition.

We presume you refer to the old Emerson Motors Company. If so, you should certainly have investigated before making the trade. This was an illy-conceived and altogether badly-handled promotion which not long ago went upon the rocks. We had occasion to warn a good many REVIEW OF REVIEWS readers against it during the stock-selling campaign.

An effort is now being made to reorganize the concern in such a way as to salvage something for the old stockholders. Our understanding is that a new concern, to be known as the Campbell Motor Car Company, is in process of formation, whose securities will be issued to Emerson Motors stockholders on the following terms:

For each share, either common or preferred, of the old stock paying an assessment of 30 cents per share, it is proposed to issue 33 1-3 per cent. par value of first preferred stock of the new company.

For each share of old common stock not paying the assessment, it is proposed to issue 33 1-3 per cent. par value of new common stock; and for each share of old preferred stock not paying the assessment, it is proposed to issue 33 1-3 per cent. par value of new second preferred stock.

Unfortunately, we do not find any information on the basis of which it seems safe to venture a prediction as to the final outcome of this propo-

No. 906. MINNEAPOLIS & ST. LOUIS STOCK

Kindly advise me if there is any danger of the stock-holders of the Minneapolis & St. Louis being called upon in the not distant future to assist in financing the road. I am thinking of buying some of this stock, which is very low in price, with the idea of holding it until conditions improve.

Reorganization of the Minneapolis & St. Louis was completed as recently as 1916. Since that time the road has been doing fairly well. We do not know of any plan contemplating a call upon the stockholders for assistance in financing the requirements of the property, and in any event would not think this likely while the property is being operated under Government control, as will be the case until the end of the war. Nevertheless, we should not be disposed to give our approval to the purchase of the stock, except as an out-and-out speculative venture. Its fundamental position is weak and we cannot see in it very many possibilities for the future. In saying this, we do not, of course, have it in mind to make any prediction about future market prices for the stock. Market movements in issues of this general character are so frequently governed by influences entirely aside from fundamentals.

No. 907. GOVERNMENT BONDS

I have a few thousand dollars to invest, and inasmuch as it is part of a family fund, I have been thinking about Government bonds. Are the 3 per cent. Panama Canal bonds, strictly speaking, United States Government bonds? Would the Government pay interest and principal when due, no matter what might happen to the canal? When is interest payable?

Yes, the bonds known as the Panama Canal 3 per cents are direct obligations of the United States Government, and as such the safety of their principal and interest would in no way be involved in the fate of the Panama Canal itself. Interest on these bonds is payable quarterly on the first days of March, June, September and December.

But, if Government bonds for the investment of this fund, why not the Liberty Loan 31/2's or 4's? They are better suited for the investment of private funds than the Panama Canal 3's. They yield more, and, of course, are none the less

